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Understanding of Human Conduct

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WILLIAM D. HALL, M.D., and SMITH CLY JELLY

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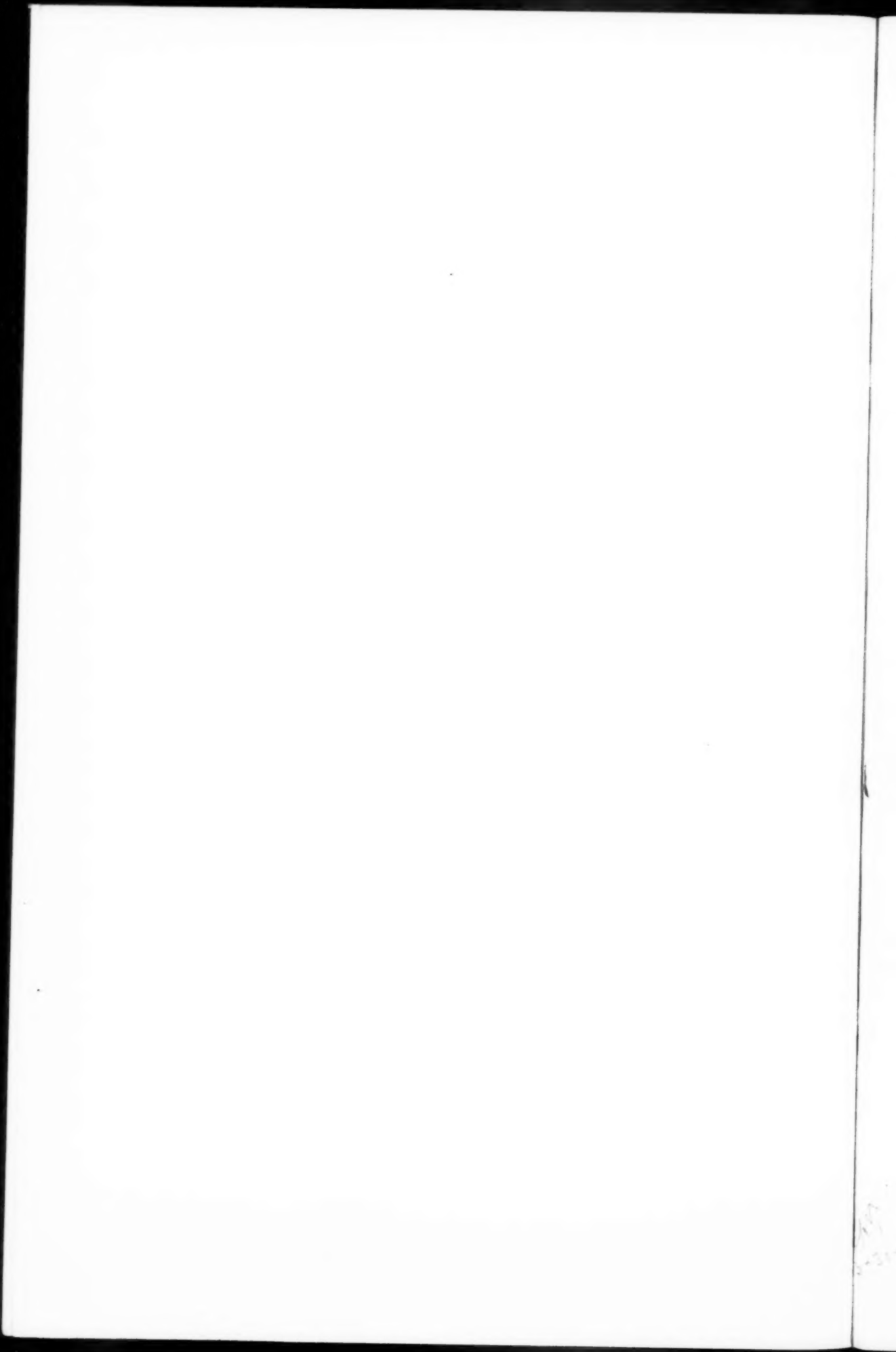
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THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO AN
UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN CONDUCT

VOLUME V

JANUARY, 1918

NUMBER I

ANALYSIS OF A CASE OF MANIC-DEPRESSIVE PSYCHOSIS SHOWING WELL-MARKED REGRESSIVE STAGES¹

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I

In undertaking to make a detailed report of the case here discussed, I am guided by the principle first laid down by Freud² and Breuer in connection with the psychoneuroses, applied with conspicuous success by Jung³ and Meyer⁴ to the *præcox* group of disorders, and by Abraham,⁵ Maeder,⁶ MacCurdy⁷ and C. M. Campbell⁸ to the manic-depressive group. This principle is that the psychosis is not a wild unordered outbreak of mental entities, due to physical disorders the causality of which cannot possibly be demonstrated,

¹ Read at a meeting of the Washington Psychoanalytic Society, December 8, 1917.

² S. Freud: *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, 1893-1906, Leipzig, 1906.

³ C. G. Jung: *The Psychology of Dementia Præcox*, Leipzig, 1909.

⁴ Adolf Meyer: *The Dynamic Interpretation of Dementia Præcox*, *American Journal of Psychology*, 1910.

⁵ K. Abraham: *Ansätze zur psychoanalytischen Erforschung und Behandlung des Manisch-Depressiven Irreseins und verwandte Zustände*, *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, 1912.

⁶ Maeder: *Psychoanalyse bei einer Melancholischen Depression*, *Jahrbuch für Nervenkranken und Psychiatrie*, III, 1911.

⁷ J. T. MacCurdy: *Productions in a Manic-like State illustrating Freudian Mechanisms*, *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 8, 1914.

⁸ C. M. Campbell: *On the mechanism of some cases of manic-depressive excitement*, *Medical Record*, New York, 1914.

but that it is a definite and not altogether incomprehensible reaction to a set of circumstances governing the individual's life. It is an actual constructive attempt on the part of the patient to meet and adapt himself to conditions that he finds himself unable to meet in a normal and successful way. Close and intelligent observation of a manic patient, with only a fairly comprehensive inquiry into his past life, may be sufficient to reveal the probability of such an explanation, while a careful psychological analysis may establish it beyond a doubt. The work of Abraham, MacCurdy and Campbell has done invaluable service in establishing the analytical method of studying the manic-depressive psychosis. I submit this hoping that it will be useful, first, in confirming the views that they have set forth, and second, in offering a more distinct and orderly manifestation of the regression-phenomena than has hitherto been published in the literature of the manic type of psychosis.

Another point of great interest which I have made no attempt to work out in the limits of the present contribution is the suggestion of close relationship between the different types of functional psychosis. The patient under discussion showed, especially at the onset of the psychosis, symptoms associated with *præcox* or schizophrenia, and, further back than that, manifestations attributed to hysteria. As the psychosis progressed, the manic symptoms came more and more to the front, however, so that the final diagnosis agreed upon was that of manic-depressive psychosis, determined by the patient's distractibility, the flight of activity, the absence of stereotypy, the periodicity of the attacks, the manifestly extroverted type of personality, and—but this is now of very questionable diagnostic value—the complete recovery. If only a brief account of the case, made from casual observation, were given, the periodic recurrence of the same regressive order of activity, set forth in the pages to follow, might be construed as representing a stereotyped character, but the fact is that the particular activities of the successive recurrences were never the same. The general interests were somewhat the same, but the reaction to these interests was always different, and everything in the patient's environment played its part. The distinguishing marks of schizophrenia were absent, while, as MacCurdy has shown, the archaic type of reaction, which was formerly attributed to the *præcox* group, may also occur in manic cases. I have in mind two other cases of unquestioned manic type which illustrate this fact and which I hope to report in a future communication.

In the present case it is almost conceivable that the patient might have taken any one of three types of reaction—psychoneurotic, schizophrenic or manic-depressive—that she hesitated for a time in an indeterminate state, and that finally her type of personality, more inclined to extroversion than introversion, energetic and masterful, determined the reaction to be of the manic character. The study of the case confirms, at any rate, the conclusion of Abraham and MacCurdy, that the conflicts and unsuccessful adaptations leading to this psychosis are of the same character as those leading to the hysterical attacks reported by Freud, and the *præcox* psychoses of Jung, Ernest Jones,⁹ Kempf,¹⁰ Meyer, and others. The hypothesis that the type of psychosis developed is the outcome of factors of personality acting upon a biological situation of failure in adaptation common to all the functional psychoses and the psychoneuroses becomes worthy of study, and may well indicate a recasting of some of the current principles of differential diagnosis.

Lastly, it is hoped that a report made with such fullness of detail, at the risk of tedium, as I have put into this one, will be of value to those beginning the study of the psychoses by the psychoanalytic method, simply because it offers a wealth of illustrative material which can be related definitely to the development of an individual psyche.

II

The case reported is that of a young woman, aged twenty-one, admitted to St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C., in October, 1916, suffering from a maniacal attack reported to be her first. The patient showed flight, distractibility, great press of activity and some willfulness, but in a few days grew quiet, became interested in her surroundings and amenable to hospital discipline. Attacks of excitement, with much activity, recurred periodically thereafter, which I shall describe in the third division of this discussion.

There is a faulty heredity, her paternal grandfather, a brilliant man, having died of paresis, one paternal uncle was alcoholic, a maternal great aunt and uncle were feeble-minded, and her father is a clever but very erratic character, fond of wandering in his youth, unconventional, devoted to literary pursuits and mechanical

⁹ Ernest Jones: Notes on a case of Hypomania, Bulletin of the Ontario Hospitals for the Insane, 1910.

¹⁰ E. J. Kempf: The Psychology of "The Yellow Jacket," *PSYCHO-ANALYTIC REVIEW*, IV, 1917.

inventions. He is thought to have been very near a psychosis in his early manhood. The mother is of strong moral character but self-effacing. The father dominates the family. Neither parent furnished a satisfactory ideal for the growing girl.

The patient was fairly healthy, but had a weak throat after scarlatina, suffered much from constipation, treated by enemata, to which she objected, and showed, because of her very unhygienic upbringing, a good deal of auto-eroticism. She sucked her thumb, played with parts of her body, and developed the habit of masturbation in her twelfth year.

The family life was irregular and unconventional, affording little opportunity for the formation of stable habits. The absence of childish companions other than her younger sister, much attention from adults, and stimulation by her father's allowing the children to share in all their social life, fostered her natural precocity, her sturdy egoism, and her inability to fit in with companions her own age. She soon became sensitive over the irregularity of the home regime and over her lack of hygienic habits—notably regular bathing—and told her first remembered lies in order to conceal this from schoolmates. The feeling of inferiority generated by these differences from other children, first experienced when, at nine, she entered school, was combated for a time by an intellectual and social leadership, and by the notice she received from her teachers. She developed an attitude of superior aloofness when she found herself thrown much with younger children, as she was because of the late age at which she entered school, yet was of a naturally sociable disposition, readily responsive to other personalities. The absence of childish companionship sufficiently congenial and stimulating threw her back upon the life of fantasy indulged in by most children, which grew to undue proportions and persisted far into adolescence. She was taken much to the theater and opera, which overstimulated her imagination and created a taste for the spectacular and melodramatic. Play of a creative sort was neglected. The patient rebelled against it, besides, because other children did not go to the theater, and this was a further point of estrangement from them.

This was one of the things that led to a gradual growth of a feeling of being always *passive* in the hands of her father. A strong attachment to him strove with a perfectly natural but sternly repressed rebellion against him, until, in late adolescence, the conflict, pressing into the outskirts of consciousness, became effectual as one of the factors in the final overthrow of her mental balance. Much

of her difficulty was known by her to be indirectly traceable to her father's influence, although she repressed the conscious attitude of censuring him. His character fascinated her, while his inconsiderate conduct gave cause for irritation and lessened her filial respect. To his teaching and to the intellectual brilliance he lent the home circle she owed her own intellectual eminence, but to his eccentricity she owed her inability to fit easily into the environment about her. Her one way of asserting her own will against his domination was by imitating him as closely as possible, a way of "out-heroding Herod" found often enough in cases where a father-complex becomes paramount. In the psychosis later a favorite phrase of hers was "beating people at their own game."

The history of her sexual development is rather typical of the neurotic personality. When she was four, a boy of fifteen exposed himself to her. Her curiosity was aroused, but later suppressed so strongly that she grew up an unusually "innocent" girl. Soon after this, a little colored girl told her of the "devil." The idea became associated with her guilt over sex-curiosity, and she nightly feared to find the devil under her bed. Dreams of burglars and robbers creeping upon the house characterized this period. Further curiosity was aroused by the birth of a baby brother at five. She was quite ignorant and probably formulated the alimentary canal theory. Later she connected the delivery with the navel and played with that part of her body. Her mother gave her some very rudimentary instruction when she entered school at nine, promising more when she should be old enough to understand. The promise was never fulfilled, books and magazines, moreover, were expurgated before they were given her, and an over-conscientious—and compensatory—obedience to her mother forbade her to seek any ulterior means of satisfying the curiosity thus stimulated. Her painful experiences over menstruation as well as her puzzle over what constituted really modest and proper behavior fostered a growing craving for adequate knowledge and a growing resentment against those who denied it her. Kempf has noted (in his "Psychology of the Yellow Jacket," p. 417)¹¹ the confidence and reassurance generated in children who learn the life secret from their parents as contrasted with the timidity of those who learn from chance vulgarity. In the patient's adolescent days, the failure of a teacher, whose duty it was to instruct her charges in sex hygiene, and who passed over the topic with the remark that she would leave that to their mothers, inten-

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

sified the feeling of injury and helplessness that influenced her failure to develop her sexual life along wholesome lines.

Her attitude toward dolls when she was small showed how attentive she was to all that pertained to babies. She and her sister wore their dresses buttoned in front in order to nurse their dolls, and took endless pains with their care. They stirred an emotion in her that went beyond play. A healthy young woman tells me that when she was a child she wept with emotion while rocking her doll to sleep. Our patient, when in her teens, took up a fad, in common with a group of girls, of caring for the babies of her neighbors. Her emotions were deeply excited by this; she felt as if the children were her own and finally gave up the practice because of its agitating effect. Compare instances, noted in a former paper,¹² of young women with homosexual tendencies who find themselves unexpectedly weeping at the sight of a child. The emotion here expressed is at first projected upon the doll, later upon the infant, and is not the maternal feeling as commonly understood. It is rather the mirror of the mother-and-self identification, arising first through sexual gratification at the mother's contact, and issuing in narcissism and homosexuality, as shown in Trigant Burrow's recent communication.¹³ In the feeling the child has for the doll, we see her identification with her mother, and her projection of her own individuality upon the doll. It is when the struggle against auto-erotism, the struggle to free the libido for better objects, is waging, that the extraordinary emotional effect is seen, in the childhood age of doll-play, and in the adolescent age of baby-love. Perhaps these examples of unusual affective behavior will tend to clarify the principle, set forth by Burrow, that homosexuality and the fixation on the mother, in male and female alike, are expressions of auto-erotism in subjectivity. For, as we have seen, the doll and the baby are really representatives of the infantile self. The girl who is deeply affected by her doll or by the care of an infant is seeing in it, unconsciously, her own infantile self, which she is loath to give up for a higher development. The retrospective longing for the mother's cherishing, for mother-contact, is thus expressed in its conflict with the upward and outward trend of growth. The unusual pains taken with the doll-play in the patient's childhood

¹² L. Dooley: A Study of Normal Complexes, p. 135, *American Journal of Psychology*, 1916.

¹³ "The Genesis and Meaning of Homosexuality, and its Relation to the Problem of Introverted States," *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. IV, No. 3.

might well pass as little significant had it not been for the reaction to infants occurring in her teens. In her psychosis, later, she played at being a doll, which was to be born as a baby. I am reminded of a dream of a young woman of twenty-seven, suffering from a neurosis, in which she saw a child of thirteen playing with a doll and reproved by bystanders for childishness. The dreamer defended the child (who represented herself) saying that to play with dolls at thirteen was quite natural.

A tendency to overweight the effects of sensory stimulation was strengthened by one or two untoward incidents. At school, when about ten, she was mortified by an involuntary urination, really unavoidable under the circumstances. The painful affect in this case was increased by her remorse over telling her chum a senseless lie about the affair. Here began her most distinct feeling of inferiority to others and her tendency to suffer deep humiliation over the least failure or mistake. The incident became a typical one to her mind, recalled whenever she was in an embarrassing situation, but never spoken of. Could she have discussed it with her mother or teacher, much of its seriousness would have dissolved. It served to establish a conditioned reflex for over-affective reactions to stimuli tending to arouse humiliation.

In her twelfth year a trained nurse suggested to her mother that her vivid color might indicate the approach of puberty. Her mother, accordingly, told her, with a show of embarrassment, flushing, and gulping, something of the expected change. The girl received the impression that there was something terrifying, shameful, or at least very unpleasant, in the event, and became hysterical. Afterward she examined to see if the expected phenomenon, which she understood but imperfectly, had begun, and so formed the habit of masturbation. This habit remained undiscovered by her parents until the development of the psychosis, and the patient received no censure, but the habit generated both guilt and further fixation of the libido upon her own person, dragging it back in its upward climb.

The first menstruation, which did not appear until three years after the warning was given, by which time the facts imparted were almost forgotten, came on a day of great stress and fatigue, was attended by much pain, and consequent terror because the girl feared that she had committed an indiscretion, and dared not tell her mother. The unfortunate mental attitude developed at her first instruction was further nourished, and the periods, always painful and often occurring at times when unusual effort was demanded,

were never handled in a sensible way. Rebellion against her lot as a woman strove with the womanly hopes born with adolescence, while a feeling of strangeness and mystery, and of helplessness in the hands of fate went with it all. Conflicting ideals of character, born of her desire to be like her father and of his desire that she conform to the domestic type, received a reinforcement by opposing ideas from this struggle between repudiation of and pride in the feminine rôle.

Her entrance into a large city high school, at fourteen, presented to her a complex environment, to which, partly because of home conditions, inharmonious with the demands of school, and partly because of a sensitive egoism that demanded more recognition of her merits than she could here receive, she could not adapt herself. She made few friends, because unable to bear small slights, and compensated by leading her classes in her studies—which, at this high school, won far less applause than social success would gain her. The distance between the school and the place at which she lived made full participation in the social activities of the school impossible, a situation which she used to explain her humiliating social isolation until the entrance of her sister, in the third year, showed its inadequacy. The sister surmounted external obstacles to pleasurable social life with ease, and won great popularity. A born coquette, and less conscientious than the patient, she was daringly unconventional and evaded her parent's rules, as the patient longed to do but dared not. This brought to consciousness a strong sense of her personal inadequacy, which she quickly suppressed with a reaction of condemnation of her sister. The conflict was manifest thereafter in her irritability toward her sister, whom she had devotedly loved, and in her exaggerated propriety of conduct. She worried over the slightest lapse, felt self-condemned for the chance caresses of one or two older men—who sometimes put an arm around her shoulders—and feared that she was not normally modest because she craved attention. Her father preached much of modesty, but left her at sea as to what constituted modest behavior, and she was obsessed with the fear of unintentional transgression.

In her seventeenth year occurred the event that fixed the hatred complex upon her sister while it had an effect upon the patient's struggling heterosexual development actually traumatic. The sister taunted her with never having received any love letters. She had read all the patient's carefully preserved correspondence, and knew. She declared that the patient could not read *her* letters. Stung by

the implication, the older girl sought the letters, and stumbled, instead, upon a sort of diary, kept in silly schoolgirl fashion, which set forth in plain and unvarnished terms the assumed contrast between the charms and the successes of the younger and the older. Full of romantic dreams, as girls of seventeen are, sensitive and vain moreover, and suffering with the sense of slight and failure, the patient was shocked into a complete renunciation, so far as outward efforts went, of the normal social interplay of the sexes, and of social pleasures in general. She fell back, consciously, upon her home life, her ambitions to become a good housekeeper and a help to her mother, and upon the friends of her own sex, where her sister's rivalry was less apparent and menacing. Unconsciously, or subconsciously, she reverted to the narcissistic attitude of the pre-pubertal days. This is the first clearly defined retrogression that occurred in her development.

Immediately afterward she suffered from an apparently gastric trouble which was referred to a stomach specialist and treated for nearly a year by dieting. There is reason to believe that the trouble was functional, as it did not entirely clear up until the beginning of outspoken mental disturbance, and that it was due to the patient's reaction to the series of strong repressions just effected. The foods that had to be avoided were preferred during her psychosis and were later analyzed by the patient in relation to her repressed sexual wishes.

Her only actual love affair, with a boy a year younger than herself, to whose feelings she could not respond, precipitated a painful complex of feeling with regard to marriage. She had been trained by her parents to look forward to marriage as the one possible career for a woman, and had taken an interest in domestic arts, while her tastes were really more for study, literature and art, in order to prepare herself for wifehood. Her own lack of social success, compared with her sister's popularity, led her to wonder if, after all, she might not miss the goal, and, if she did miss it, what she possibly could do. These thoughts were rather nebulous until the affair with the boy in question brought them to mind. She did not care for him, and he was the only one who cared deeply for her. She feared marriage and yet felt bound to accept it as the only way to success. A way out presented itself—namely, physical or mental unfitness. Her menstrual troubles, which had served to fix her attention upon the sensations of the genital region, indicated to her that she might not be normal. The struggle with auto-eroticism brought her into

a dreamy, slightly dissociated state, not unnatural in adolescence, which made her apprehensive of losing her mental balance. Her grandfather's insanity and her father's eccentricity led to the belief that she might inherit insanity. She began to suffer with headaches which she believed to be just like those suffered by both grandfather and father. The fear of insanity, unconfessed for two years, obsessed her—the more strongly because subconsciously it presented itself as a refuge from her difficulties in growing up and achieving womanhood.

A factor increasing both physical and mental difficulties, whatever its direct effect on the development of the psychosis may have been, was her infection with syphilis. How or when this occurred could not be definitely ascertained. The long and intimate psychoanalysis, during the later months of which the patient gave every appearance of perfect frankness and good faith, failed to disclose any sexual delinquency. The presence of the disease was not discovered until the outbreak of the psychosis in the summer of 1916, when the patient was twenty-one. The history was confused, as neither the patient nor her family had paid very close attention to sores about the face or on the genitals, although both had been present. While the marriage complex and the sexual fancies evident in the psychosis led one to suspect a sexual experience, and while the presence of syphilis is always strong ground for suspicion, it must be borne in mind that psychoses with sexual complexes at their base occur, and have been reported, in individuals with no actual sexual experience, and that syphilis is known to be contracted in innocent ways. In this case it appears that it must have been contracted before she was eighteen, and there is a possibility that the primary lesion was at the mouth. The skin about the mouth "hardened and peeled." The genitals also were sore, however. It is unfortunate that exact information as to the occasion of the infection cannot be obtained, but it need not prevent our dealing with the psychological effects of the disease. The patient knew nothing of its nature but was troubled by the condition of her skin and by the soreness in the perineal region. She felt that the latter meant something seriously wrong but did not suspect an infection. Rather she construed it as a part of her menstrual difficulty, and thus increased her feeling of inferiority and of unfitness for her womanly destiny. The preoccupation with these fears—of mental and physical disease, of marriage, and, conversely, of non-marriage—led to a loss of interest in her studies, a difficulty in keeping her attention

upon them, and a syndrome of psychogenic physical disturbances collectively termed "nervous breakdown," following which she left school, early in 1913, in her senior year. She was now eighteen.

The backward trend toward infantile dependence reached, in its furthest, subconscious development, to the desire for complete ease and rest from conflict represented by death. Death-longings, vague at first, were crystallized by an accident in the summer of 1915. The patient came near drowning, and, though much frightened at the time, the instinct of self-preservation asserting itself, afterward felt no longer the fear of death that had been almost an obsession during the time that her longing for such release had been barred from the daylight of consciousness. Death by water is particularly closely related to the unconscious longing for return to the mother, as Jung has explained in his *Psychology of the Unconscious*. The many fancies of the patient, during her psychosis, about water, and her swimming movements, were determined both by this actual occurrence with its affective accompaniment and by the unconscious, perhaps racially implanted, association pointed out by Jung.

She also conceived a desire to become a Quaker or a nun—another way of escaping the responsibilities of womanhood. This idea lasted far into her psychosis.

In September, 1915, she had a curettage, in order to relieve her sufferings at the menstrual period. The physician apparently did not discover her syphilitic infection. In December and January she suffered from eyestrain, due, she thought, to too much fancy-work, and dropped most of her occupations. This brought about a period of brooding in which she viewed her life, saw herself as a failure, blamed her parents, foresaw insanity, and desired more than ever to die. Aside from this immediate result of the temporary disuse of her eyesight, there was a subconscious relation to her central trouble, that of sexual inferiority, that may have been partly the cause of the breakdown at the point of vision, and almost certainly exaggerated the symptoms. This was her subconscious association of the eye with the sexual organs, and her infantile fixation of eye libido, by which she found much of her pleasure in visual sensations, particularly in colors. The eyes partook of the diseased condition affecting the other organs, and an exaggerated importance was assigned to the ailment. She feared blindness, half welcomed the prospect as a release from responsibility, and allowed the eye condition to interfere more with her activity than was necessary. In her psychosis, later, she fancied herself in a hospital for the blind,

and wove fancies about injuries to the eyes, as we shall see. At the time of the eye-trouble, the psychic result was an intensifying of the feeling of physical inadequacy, the core of which was a realization of sexual delinquency, for which she would punish herself by sacrificing her eyes.

She began to suffer from insomnia, explained by herself as due to bad thoughts. She meant the preoccupation with the sexual question, which pressed her for solution, bringing with it the regression of the affective life to the childhood level of perverse sexual satisfactions. There was some retardation in thinking, which caused the patient grave anxiety, but no loss of touch with her environment. She made an effort to gain independence from parental domination by demanding an allowance, and obtained her wishes, but unfortunately her remorse over the rebellion against her father counteracted beneficial effects. She could not escape his spiritual domination.

A further acute realization of her failure came in the spring of 1915 with the visit of a girl of her own age, from a distant part of the country, and her sister's graduation from school. She saw that these two girls, by very different routes, had attained successful womanhood, whereas she, with an equal chance, had remained a child, unable to assert herself, unable to claim any marked success in any important line, and, above all, in her mind, unable to take the first steps toward the goal of womanhood, which is marriage and maternity. Distinctly psychotic disturbances now made their appearance, for the first time. She asked her parents to kill her, as she could never be any good, she spent much energy upon useless work, and she suffered constantly from insomnia.

She overheard her parents discussing her on one occasion in a way that humiliated her beyond reason. One of them said, in a horrified undertone, "Suppose she should be joined with a —." She never could recall the word used, and probably misunderstood it, whatever it was, but she knew it referred to the possibility of her marriage with an unfit person. She felt as if her own parents were hereby classing her with girls of low character and casting her off, and she felt unspeakably degraded. The ambivalence of feeling, on the other hand, brought into play, by this incident, the already robust tendency toward the lower forms of sexual satisfaction, stimulating day dreams of a sensual nature, in which her father played a part. The incident completed the estrangement from both parents, which had been developing throughout her adolescence, compensated as it was by over-submissiveness to them.

A second curettage and dilatation of the cervix was tried in June, 1916, which was followed by the first definite formation of delusions, originating, probably, while the patient was under ether, though shaped by the fantasy tendencies just noted. She thought the operation was an assault, that the instrument used was a cross, and that its purpose was to cure her of masturbation. The seriousness of her mental condition was now recognized and she was taken to a sanatorium, where she failed to improve. She made three attempts at suicide, by swallowing glass, mercury and a needle. Taken home again, she was put under the treatment of a Christian Scientist, who, for the first time, dealt frankly with sexual matters and obtained a confession of masturbation. The religious and mystical element in the treatment served to aggravate the delusions, however. The patient fancied herself about to become a virgin mother, dressed herself all in white and waited, in the house of the practitioner, for the great event that was to make her the Savior of the Race. It was a final attempt, in the dream world, attempts in the world of reality having failed, to achieve emancipation from the infantile auto-erotic fixation of the libido by an expansion through her identification of herself with the race, at the same time saving herself from the sacrifice actually demanded by shutting out a human agency, substituting instead a miraculous impregnation. The delusion of pregnancy was fostered by the fact that her menses were suppressed during the summer.

Her inability to sleep caused her to wander out at night, in an attempt to find relief and diversion from her nervous tension. On one occasion her father brought her back by force, saying "I *will* conquer you." This crystallized her fear of him and brought to full consciousness a portion of the sexual complex centering about her father which had long been pressing nearer and nearer to the light of clear mental vision. Her recoil from this horrible thing involved her more deeply in fantasy and in poorly directed compensatory activities. The fact that he seized her by the arm became the focus of her fear of him, as it had its ambivalent pleasure-motive to her, as a female, of satisfaction in being physically overpowered. She developed an antipathy to being touched, which was also partly determined by the forcible administration of an enema.

Not realizing, at this time, as fully as she had in the early part of the year, the seriousness of her condition, she was planning to enter a school of art on the first of October. Her parents did not discourage this until the time for entrance arrived, when they told

her the plan was impossible. She felt that they treated her as a child, that she would have been reasonable had they dealt with her frankly, and that this sort of treatment placed her definitely, in the eyes of others, as an inferior person. The situation paralleled so closely the experiences of earlier adolescence, in which she had been made to feel her inferiority, and especially the occasion of the finding of her sister's diary with its humiliating result, that an explosive outburst, in which the jealousy of her sister appeared as the central motive, occurred. She talked of her sister's blue eyes, of her blue clothes, rummaged her bureau drawers to find materials from which to make her sister a party gown, and attempted to put in order all her possessions, as a symbolic reformation of her own character. She tore sheets and blankets, refused to wear shoes, and could be managed by no one except her sister.

Her menses had reappeared, after suppression during the summer, on October third. It was at this date that she experienced her humiliation with regard to entering the Art School. No immediate reaction was apparent, but ten days later, on October 13, the first maniacal symptoms, of incoherent speech and press of activity, were noted. Her subsequent excitements have much the same temporal relation to the menstrual period. In this excited state, on October 17, 1916, she was admitted to this hospital, after two days in a general hospital where she was unmanageable.

III

The excitement, during which she talked incoherently, showed flight of ideas, distractibility, shouted, made speeches, danced, refused to wear clothing, tore up sheets and blankets, and went through numerous meaningful motions of the limbs, lasted two weeks. It was followed by two weeks of comparative quiet, with little conduct disorder, and an emotional state of depression, the later not being severe enough to affect her conduct in ordinary matters. In this quiet interval she underwent the routine mental examination very creditably and was readily accessible. She was greatly interested in her environment and took keen note of everything, as she had during the excitement.

Her general physical condition was good. There was a slight yellowish vaginal discharge, negative for gonococci. The Wassermann reaction with blood serum was double plus, with cerebrospinal fluid negative. She has subsequently received salvarsan treatment, with latest Wassermann reaction plus minus.

For six months following her admission to the hospital an excitement occurred two weeks before the appearance of the menses, and subsided with the beginning of the menstrual flow. The excitement would begin with euphoria, a conviction that her problem was solved, and a great press of activity. She would write letters to all her friends, magazine articles, stories, poems and plays, or make water color sketches, sew and embroider, work at French translations, talk and laugh excitedly, but, for a day or two, show no conduct disorder. Repeated observation helped out by subsequent analysis established that in these first days she was in the mental state of her early adolescence. It seemed that she had gone back to the point where her difficulties first became pressing, and was trying again to find her way out by the roads that she had tried then, without satisfactory results. She dressed herself with care and neatness, but youthfully, preferring a middy blouse or a smock and a short skirt, and arranging her hair in moving-picture curls. In a day or two more, her dress became fantastic, she wore a flower over her left ear (see below), pinned and tied flowers, ribbons, and odds and ends over her dress, sometimes powdered her hair or filled it with soap, and refused to wear shoes. She ran, instead of walking, laughed very loudly, sang, sat upon the floor, collected useless scraps of cloth, paper, etc., played with them, and told of the wonderful uses to which she was going to put them. This appeared to be the childish stage of her regression.

After three or four days of this, her dress became untidy. She kept wet towels next to her body, was always washing her clothes, sometimes without removing them, and spent hours cleaning the bathroom and toilet, saying this was the place to begin. During her first two or three excitements, she sometimes struck the people around her in the back and overturned furniture, but later, when in the depressed intervals, she began to gain insight, she showed no anger reactions until a deeper stage of the excitement was reached. She would now begin to tear her clothing, destroy articles in the room with a view to making something else of them, resist the nurses, throw her dishes about, and be untidy in her habits. Another accompaniment of this stage was a mania for "interpretive dancing" which she liked especially to practice in the hydrotherapy room, whither she went twice daily for pack, shower and spray. While in this phase, which lasted a week or more, she was usually secluded in a room in which there was no furniture except her bed. She would wear no clothes, but liked to have some by her to put on

when doctors or nurses came in, for she never became indifferent to environment and was always ashamed to be found unclothed. She tore her blankets into strips and wove and tied them into the fantastic savage dress probably well known to all psychiatrists. She banged her bed against the door until her bedstead had to be removed. She tore the stuffing out of her mattress and slit her cotton pad, getting all the cylindrical cotton rolls out of it, and sometimes creeping inside the slit cover. She tore the colored stripes out of the blankets and used them for head bands. (For the significance of her actions see below.) She answered voices that at first seemed to be hallucinated, but afterwards it was found that they were actual sounds heard and misinterpreted. She noted the actions of those about her to the smallest detail, but seldom, unless taken by surprise, would vouchsafe any direct recognition of them. For example, she would say "Good morning" to the doctor, and would hurriedly put on a garment, then making no response to further remarks, would pursue her own line of talk, interrupting it with such comments as "She (the doctor) has brown shoes on. Now she's turning to the window, now to the door," and taking up the doctor's words into her own stream. In a little while she would become silent, close her eyes, put her hands on her head and make movements with hands and head that were of a symbolic nature, and which she intended as a sign language to some one who would be able to understand. If her visitor stayed long she might become angry. When no one was in her room she could be heard making loud speeches, singing, and at times striking the wall with a towel or sheet or with her hands. This striking was intended for a signal to the people outside who were supposed to be working with her in a great international plot.

She was usually untidy in these excitements, and in two of them rubbed her excreta into the floor and into her body, as she also did her food, mixing them together.

The appearance of the menses regularly put an end to this hypermanic state. She became inactive, remained in bed for two or three days, had persecutory ideas and was inclined to be irritable with everyone about her. Traces of the fantasies that had swayed her for the past two weeks remained, but she was now the passive sufferer from the machinations of others. This paranoid state always lasted for two or three days and gave way to one of great weariness and depression, with an access of insight which became greater and clearer with each succeeding month, after analysis had begun.

During the depressed state, after the first two months, there was no conduct disorder and one would not have known from her speech or action that the fantasies still dwelt at the back of her mind. They formed the content of her night dreams, however, and so came to the knowledge of the psychoanalyst, while others thought her mentally clear, though sad, silent and often hysterical, weeping much, and giving an occasional involuntary wail, followed by a laugh. She recalled the extravagant behavior of the preceding weeks with shame and humiliation, but was despondent about ever getting any better. She took little interest in her former pursuits and cared only to work for others, mending for the ward, knitting for the Navy League, and helping other patients. She preferred to dress plainly in the hospital gingham or percale, and arranged her abundant curly hair in the simplest possible manner. The idea of being a nun or a Quaker, which took possession after her final realization that her efforts to adapt herself to society were failures thus manifested itself again after her new attempts, at successively lower levels, to assert her worth once more. The feeling of aloofness, of being outcast, worthless and, above all, of having lived her life and become old (at 21) permeated her being in these days.

At these times she took up psychoanalysis with hope, and clung to it for comfort, although she often retreated for a time, before a threatened painful disclosure. Toward January, or after her third excitement, the results of analysis began to show. The monthly cycle described in the foregoing continued to run its course but there was a sharper differentiation between the manic and the depressed states. Fantasy and reality were less confused together. There were considerable periods when she was free from fantasy, and after these fancies had again taken possession, they were for some time recognized as unreal. It was only in the days of seclusion, when there was little distraction from outside, that they became wholly real. It is true, however, that they were *more* real, in the few days they lasted, during the last three months of her psychosis, than they were during the first three, when fantasy and reality were intermixed in varying proportion throughout the monthly cycle. At that time it was like a game or play to her, in which she was at once actor and spectator.

The last excitement, which was the seventh, occurred in April, 1917, and was much milder in type than the others. It began similarly and ran through what I have called the adolescent and child-

hood stages, but very little into the archaic. She dressed herself in fantastic costumes, like a child dressing up, but never became untidy, noisy or destructive and never had to be secluded. This attack was much more like a typical manic excitement, except that there was little flight or incoherence, though much distractibility. She took a great interest in the people about her, made pencil sketches of them, took notes on the behavior of certain patients for her doctor, sewed and knitted at times, and was always pleasant and agreeable.

The excitement of March, just preceding this one, had been the severest of any, and upon emerging from it she told me that she knew she had struck bottom and could never go so far down again. Her prognosis proved correct. While the next month brought an excitement, it was of the mild type described above, and it was indeed the last. It cleared up in the usual way, giving place to the typical depression. Psychoanalysis now made great headway, and care was taken to provide the patient with helpful employment, such as gardening, Red Cross work, and out-of-door recreations. She soon became interested and steadily improved until August, 1917, when, ten months after her admission to the hospital, she was perfectly recovered and was able to take up an active life at home again. She has since entered college. Suicidal obsessions and general despondency oppressed her until June, but after that the normal cheerfulness that already was instilled into her external behavior by voluntary effort took possession of her inner life also and grew into the enthusiasm and zest in life suitable to her age.

The patient was able to coöperate in her own analysis to a very remarkable degree, practically making it herself, after her confidence was won, the part of the analyst being to stimulate the recovery of forgotten material by suggesting possible connections. The underlying ideation of the excited activities was brought up by free association with few suggestions from outside. The activities of the higher level, adolescence, necessarily were founded upon ideas persisting from the earlier stages of development, but found free expression in reactions typical of her adolescent years. Likewise, the other two stages recognized, with intermediate stages, are so classified with reference to the reaction type and to the degree of mental integration and complexity present. Though the stages overlap, the material can be most clearly presented by arranging it under the heads: Adolescent, Infantile and Archaic.

IV

ADOLESCENT ACTIVITIES

The "Clothes Problem."—The patient usually began her excitement by waking in the morning with a feeling of euphoria and the sense that she had made a long step in solving her problems. This announcement, together with her beaming expression and flushed cheek, came to be the signal of the approaching excitement. The problem which she first attacked and triumphantly solved was the "Clothes Problem." This had, in the course of nature, been one of the early and persistent interests of her adolescent high school days. Not only lack of money, but, presenting a more serious obstacle to her, her father's ideas about suitable clothes, had prevented her dressing in a manner equal to her mates. She had learned to sew, and often made herself pretty things, but at other times found this too taxing, and, to allay her discontent, forced herself to a superficial acquiescence in her father's views, and was simple, unconventional, and even careless in her dress, as her father himself was. This, like other phases of adolescent feeling, found its root in her infantile tendency to imitate and emulate her father in all possible ways. Now, at the opening of her excitement, she designed new costumes, ripped up old garments with the intention of making them over into new and astonishingly beautiful creations, and even designed and recommended ravishing toilettes for her favorite physicians and nurses. She planned for a prize contest in garment-making to be carried on through her father's magazine in which the garments were to be made by her design, to her measure, embroidered with her initials. The successful contestant was to receive a subscription to the magazine while the patient retained all the garments, thus happily furnishing her wardrobe at no expense! The new clothes were ostensibly her outfit for college, but the unexpressed purpose in her mind was to get a trousseau. The deeper relation of the "Clothes Problem" to the life problem is, of course, not to be passed over. In dreams and fantasies, as well as in speech, the clothes represent the man. And it is significant that she began with *underclothes*, "the place to begin" she said, and made the process of reclothing her body the symbol of a rehabilitation of her personality.

The Bridal Dress.—When the fantasy gained a little more headway, the patient began to adorn herself with flowers, with ribbons, with bright-hued silk stockings, her white slippers and her neatest

dressess. This was long afterward admitted to be for her expected bridal, though she never even indirectly alluded to this at the time. The prospective bridegroom was not always the same. After she had been at the hospital for a time, it became one of the physicians. She thought at first that her journey to the hospital was a wedding trip, then later construed the mystery that seemed to surround her as preparation for the great trip, but she spoke of it only as a "trip" and did not confess that she had in mind a wedding trip until after psychoanalysis had been carried on for some time. The statement was entirely spontaneous, however.

Games.—In connection with her marriage fantasies comes a rather clever allusion to the problem in connection with baseball. Often closely following her attack on the Clothes Problem would come a great revival of her high-school interest in this game. She would recall the school matches and dilate with enthusiasm on the qualities of players and teams. She would begin to plan for a girls' team, of which she should be captain. She was to take second base because that "and *not* third base, as most people think, is really the hardest." Second base was marriage, third base death, in the great life diamond where birth, marriage and death are the landmarks between leaving and reaching again the Home Plate. A second meaning given was second as the female number, harder than the male.

While she was still in school her tense interest in the games, and her sufferings if her school lost, passed the bounds of the normal. The game was already a symbol of her own tragic struggle with the difficulty of managing her own sexual trends, and of reconciling her own innate desires and ambitions to the different ones imposed on her by her parents. In planning for her team, she determined to practice what the others *couldn't* do and above all to "sacrifice," which is a naïve way of escaping defeat. At school she enjoyed basketball but was never very successful, because she was awkward, in spite of her muscular strength.

Another high-school activity to which her interest returned simultaneously with the baseball preoccupation was the debate. She had been in a debating society and had been chosen to take part in a contest with a rival society. One of her hard times, physically, was the result of her overwork in preparation for this occasion. Her interest in debates originally sprang from her father-fixation, as he, in his capacity of editor, engaged in controversies. Also he encouraged and helped her in her own debates. The underlying motive

of her interest, however, was really the contest with her father himself. Her important debate was on Woman Suffrage, against which her father held decided opinions.

Pageants and Poems.—In all the activities of school days which now occupied her, the purpose was to go back to the starting point and win where she had lost before. One of the best creations of her fantasy belonging to the adolescent phase of the excitement was a literary composition which she called a *pageant*, though it was rather a mixture of operetta, fairy-pantomime and pageant. The scenes included woodland dells, waterfalls, nymphs and flowers, with herself as the heroine, a child of nature about which the whole action centered. She was awakened by the hero with a kiss, and there were dances and love lyrics of a most satisfactory nature. Only "graduates" were to take part and the president of the class must play the rôle of hero. (The president is a father-personality.) But on another occasion she "boycotted graduation." While this might, because of its frank egoism and its idealized fairyland setting, be called a creation of childhood, the love story in it, which was the principal part, much more closely resembled the day dream of the girl of fourteen. Withal it was a truly artistic creation, and furnished an outlet for the unsatisfied desires that proved serviceable. The patient's sister had often taken a prominent part in the school plays, as she danced and sang well, while the patient herself was awkward and self-conscious. Hence, in making herself the chief actress in a setting of idyllic beauty she outdid her sister, and lived her part in a most delightful romance besides.

Another way in which she expressed her problem in literary fashion was through the characters of King Arthur's Court. This idea had obsessed her for some time and appeared in her earlier stream of talk, in which she called herself Elaine the Lily Maid, and spoke of Arthur or "Ar-thermometer, a thing by which to measure or correct." But these two were used as a blind, the really important characters were not mentioned until the third month, after psychoanalysis had begun. She then wrote out a series of character studies in which Lancelot, "perfect comrade-brother-lover-husband," was her father, Lynnette, her sister, and she herself was Guinevere. Her mother was not included. The rôle of Guinevere was played in the deepest phase of the excitement, also, when she had quite descended to the archaic. She felt that she did not wish to be Guinevere at all, but that she was forced to play this part, really too complicated for her, to her father's Lancelot. Hence she

tried to pretend to be Elaine, while secretly despising that innocent and childish person, whom she considered incomplete and undeveloped. A stenogram taken when she talked to herself yet was aware of listeners showed her attitude toward her own situation as typified by the poem. "I'm Elaine, the Lily Maid, from the Idylls of the King. That is my favorite book next to the Bible. Maybe I like it better than the Bible. I believe every word in it. I want first aid, the quickest way, the dearest way, the way of love. Reality, a house of glass. Everyone can see. I'm innocent, not ignorant, and I do not want things said that a young girl should not hear. No, I don't know. A cat has nine tails. Please let all the married women leave the room. They are not pure. Innocent girls have been ridiculed long enough. People who do not know arithmetic should not attempt algebra, trigonometry or surveying. I am the radius of the circle, a Greek letter, always the unknown. Ignorance. Any way you want to construe it, ignorance or innocence. I don't want anything said before me that should not be said before an innocent young girl. Delta pi delta. I am the eternal triangle. Mary Magdalene, the eternal triangle, green, innocent." (For the sake of brevity I have omitted external associations that interrupted this.)

The complex centering about her unsatisfied sexual curiosity, which is usually resolved in childhood, here has been preserved into womanhood, while the sense of guilt it generates expresses itself in fancies about Mary Magdalene, prostitution wishes, etc. The triangle naturally represents the Electra complex. Of her color and number fantasies more will be said in another connection. She studied all the branches of mathematics she mentions, including surveying, which only two other girls of her class took up, as it is a boy's subject. The symbolism of mathematics for the patient is more fully taken up in the portion dealing with archaic activities.

One more of the activities of the adolescent phase is selected out of a great mass of them before passing on to the more infantile modes of reaction. This was her love of questioning those about her as to their tastes, propensities, preferences, etc. This was called "psychoanalyzing" by the patient, and, by the way, makes an interesting point in the study of the transference, being her way of beating her doctor at her own game, but its ultimate significance was the comparison of herself with others to see if, after all, she were so very far off the track. This belongs to the age of self-consciousness, which is not fully achieved until adolescence. Her intense desire, awakened most strongly when she entered the new en-

vironment of high school, to know how other families lived, may be recalled.

This activity has another side, illustrating the adolescent preparation for choosing a mate. The tendency is extended to her environment. She soon felt the impossibility, however, of getting away from the father-fixation sufficiently to choose, and sank, influenced by this among other inadequacies, to the lower level of childhood, where her fantasy about her father and her own sex life might have freer play.

INFANTILE FANTASIES

The Father Complex.—A story that haunted her when in the second stage of her excitements, and which returned in the dreams of the depressed periods, was Victor Hugo's "By Order of the King" ("L'homme qui Rit" in the original). This is a story of a man who was frightfully deformed when a child, by order of the king, who wished to take vengeance on his family. She identified herself with the victim, her father being the king who had compressed and deformed her spirit for the gratification of his wishes. (One would naturally suspect some form of sexual handling had taken place, as in the case of Frink's,¹⁴ but I failed to find any evidence of such.)

Another fancy, half delusion, half day dream, was that she was in the kaiser's palace, a prisoner. Her psychoanalyst (the writer) was to rescue her and adopt her. The kaiser is the father, the psychoanalyst a mother personality, but not her mother. In her depressed periods she sometimes dreamed of being captured by the kaiser, and tortured. The patient had no difficulty in seeing for herself the expression of the father-complex in these dreams. Other dreams and delusions, reproducing the bad dreams of early childhood, were of robbers and burglars creeping toward the house. For a long time she could not bear to look at the cartoons of the kaiser, as they touched so near the heart-breaking conflict over her father. The identification of her father with the kaiser brings an elaborate international drama which she worked out as a grandiose epitome of her situation. In this, however, Russia, as the country before the present war conceived as exemplifying absolutism in government, became the paternal representative, while Germany represented the maternal side because her mother was of German descent. She also

¹⁴ Frink, H. N.: A Psychoanalytic Study of a Case of Compulsion Neurosis, *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 1917.

found her way out of her difficulties in the usual childish way of imagining herself a royal infant, stolen by her supposed parents. She was then a princess of Alsace-Lorraine—the country of combined Teutonic and French nationalities—and was to become president of that land, and end the war. So, she would rule over both father and mother. Her father was not of French descent but he loved France and she thought him, as well as herself, French in his characteristics. France was the favored country always, in her numerous international fabrications, but one source of the fascination of France was the identification with an athlete, hero of her later childhood, whose first name was Francis, and about whom she wove many fancies in her period of awakening sexuality. He represents the heterosexual trend at its best.

She divided her room into different countries, giving to France the space by the window "where the beautiful light came from," and assigning the right-hand upper corner to Russia. Here her bed was placed by the nurses; she often moved it because her bed ought not to be in Russia (father's room). Or again she fancied it concealed by a curtain, and so all right. A corner was sometimes given to Holland, identified with the mother, whose name was Wilhelmina. America had a corner but was not of much importance, as it did not belong to the family. Japan represented the cruelty of women to women in underhand ways and was sister or mother interchangeably. The study of the determination of these national symbolisms would make a thesis in itself. I can only just mention them briefly here as an example of the way in which her great conflict and dominating complex expanded to take in the whole world, of which she, naturally, was the center.

In a dream, the father once played the combined rôles of stage manager and villain, comparable to her conception of the kaiser, and more outspoken. Again she had a conscious fantasy of her father committing a crime, of the nature of Harry Thaw's, and of another man taking his place. A second fantasy that endeavored at once to conceal and reveal her repressed wish for her father was her marrying him to his own half-sister, for whom she was named. She had been jealous of her father's devotion to this sister, *on her mother's account*, had also thought this aunt more like her than her mother was. To give the father to a relative in this way was a defiance of the incest tabu, while yet she dared not boldly put herself in the place she coveted.

In the first manic attack, while still at home, she stole her

mother's wedding ring. At first she explained this as motivated by the desire to prove to herself that her parents were really married, but after a further analysis she gave a truer explanation—that she wished to oust her mother and claim the place for herself.

Later in the psychosis came a distressing dream that she and her mother were somehow duplicating each other. One of the little family jokes had been a playful fiction that the father and the two children were the A— family and that the mother had married into it. After reaching puberty the patient became very remorseful over this, and over the affectionate ridicule with which they sometimes treated the quaint, gentle, patient little mother. It was one of the things that made her feel that her family was different from others. This overweighting of a slight matter was, naturally, a compensation for her secret enmity against her mother, and her desire to supplant her. The latter desire was again strikingly expressed in the delusion, cherished in the early months of the psychosis, that she was pregnant, and had already borne two children who were identified with the two babies her mother lost in infancy.

Very late in the psychosis, when all the symptoms of mania had disappeared, and only a slight depression remained, she dreamed that her *real* mother had come to her, taken hold of her and said "Now we are going to straighten things out." This "real" dream mother was not her actual mother, nor anyone known to her, but by this time she was solving her complex and coming to a more comfortable understanding with her parents.

Not always did the fancies and actions centering about the fixation upon her father have an unpleasant tinge. She imitated him in many things, becoming, in the infantile stage of her monthly excitement, an editor like him, tearing up papers for clippings and offering all those around her positions on his staff. She declared that she did everything in a man's way, that she did not care how she looked (cf. adolescent "Clothes Problem"), and that her purpose in life was to help her father run his paper. She dressed herself as a Russian peasant, which country she had, as we have seen, assigned to her father. One manifest origin of this was the circumstance of the family being often taken for Russian but never for American, when they travelled abroad. Just before Christmas she dressed herself as a doll, giving herself in fancy to the two hospital physicians that she liked best, placing them in the parent rôle, and half imagining that she was to be born as a human child at Christmas. This is reaching into the archaic, but lies among the childish

fancies too. We must recall the childhood reaction to dolls and the adolescent reaction to babies for the full significance of this.

Closely related to the father-complex is the attachment to the grandfather, a parent with whom there is less of conflict than with the father. Attachment to the paternal grandfather in the patient's case was strong, and equally strong, later, was her fear that she might become insane like him. When behaving childishly in her psychosis, she used to tear a piece from a gray blanket so as to form a shawl which she fastened about her shoulders. This turned out to be the reproduction of a tender memory of her grandfather. Once when the patient was three years old her grandfather had allowed her to choose what she wanted in a shop, and she chose a little gray shawl. She prized this gift highly, as it was the last he gave her before he became ill. It typified all his protecting kindness and indulgence then and later, when her sorrow and bewilderment in her troubles made her turn back to the protecting care received from one who was always indulgent—a grandparent. Comparison with MacCurdy's patient who was impregnable if wrapped in flannel, the garb of infancy, representing also the life within the mother, might not be out of place, but this analysis was not made with the patient.

Infantile Curiosity.—Closely related to the father-complex, but not necessarily integral with it, is the curiosity a child feels about life processes and the mysteries of adults. A fancy that ran through several excited periods in this case was that of being a spy in the enemy's country. The country was usually Germany (parent's country) while the patient belonged to France (heterosexual life). Spies are spied upon, and so the nurses and doctors were considered spies. A joke often dwelt upon with laughter but never explained was that "Children let out all the secrets." In revenge, she had secrets of her own. She talked much of how she was "beating people at their own game." Her family were spies upon her, common folk, while she was royal. She dwelt much upon a fairy tale read in childhood, of the maid who misled the king, leading him down a stairway and out through the wrong passages, while the lord whom he was pursuing escaped. This story would furnish material for an elaborate analysis, both in itself and in its relation to our patient, who incorporated it in her fantasy. Aware now, in her psychosis, of her inability to attain full womanhood, she has come back to one of the first poignant realizations of childish inferiority, and in her retreat backward she adopts her first crude effort to compensate for

the inferiority. She resorts to concealment as a defense for her weakness in coping with an adult world.

Narcissism.—The infantile trait of narcissism was shown both in its primary form, of dressing-up, exposing the body, and constantly combing the hair, and in the secondary form of conceit and grandiosity. She reverted in memory to frolics in the water with a playmate, to times when the usual conventional restraints were thrown off, as in camp life or when girls spent the night with each other. She declared that bathing suits were the ideal costume, tucked her skirts up short, took off her shoes, was willfully careless of exposing herself, yet not to the point of positive indecency when on the ward. She gave away her clothes to her fellow patients, feeling that she no longer wanted such artificial coverings. The great pleasure taken in posing and in dancing was one of her most striking exhibitions of the narcissistic fixation. This was practiced most often in the hydrotherapy rooms, where her costume could be arranged from sheets and towels for the desired effect. Much speech-making and singing was reminiscent of childish plays at being grown-up, in which she of course took an exalted place, as that of president or queen. She fancied, when making patriotic declamations alone in her room, that there were applauding throngs outside. This is akin to the exhibitionist dreams common to all, where "many people" present stands for the desire to exhibit the person to the whole world, and thus to obtain power over the whole world.

Auto-erotic manifestations belong, because of the primitive nature of their symbolic expression, to the archaic stratum, which I propose to treat separately, but some few outcroppings are on the more conscious level that corresponds to the infantile stage of mental development. Her great interest in cleaning the bathroom during the infantile stage of her excitement, for example, took the place of the actual play with her excreta practiced when the psychosis dropped to a lower level. The interest in excreta was at this point censured by social consciousness, the interest and the self-condemnation for that interest find a common expression, therefore, in industriously scrubbing up the place devoted to the uses of the toilet. She said that this was the place to begin cleaning, recognizing the fundamental and primal nature of the instinct with which she battled. The preoccupation with the perverse sense-pleasure of the anal region expressed itself also as a fear, once experienced in childhood, that she would be attacked from behind, or "struck in the back." In the earlier excitements she struck others in the back, with the idea, again, of beating them at their own game.

A strongly affective complex of fear and wish fantasy centered about her feet. The foot is recognized, by all who have gone much into the analysis of dreams, as a substitute symbol for the male genital organ. The young child, whether male or female, does not usually know its own sex before four years of age (see Binet) and the girl may fancy herself like her father as readily as the boy fancies his mother like himself. Her foot became to the patient a particularly sacred object, which no one must touch. She would not keep her shoes on, but could not bear to have anyone else touch the shoes, feeling that if they did so they encroached upon her sacred person. The slipper is recognized as the symbol of the female genital as the foot is of the male. Her discarding of the shoes may thus be taken as an act symbolic of an infantile rejection of the female rôle, while her jealousy of them shows, in addition to her unwillingness to be encroached upon or interfered with by outsiders, an unwillingness to relinquish the sexual rôle which really was hers. Two childhood experiences had contributed to fix the foot as a symbol in this case. She had, when six or seven years old, run a nail into her foot and had been carried home by one of her father's employees. The fright and pain, followed by the pleasure of being taken up and carried, had made this one of the type experiences to which she attached in future years both experiences of like affective content, and dreams. In her room at the hospital there was a nail in the floor that fascinated her. She was afraid of it, afraid of hurting herself upon it, yet afraid to have it taken out. She felt sure that it was put there for a purpose, that it had an important message for her. She could hardly feel that it was accidental. Its meaning was the meaning that had come to invest the accident occurring in childhood, a meaning that typified a whole sexual experience, the inthrust of the nail in the foot, pleasurable and painful in *retrospection* at once as an assault might be, followed by the surrender of the self to a stronger hand involved in the act of being carried home. This memory arose when the male physician occasionally entered her room on his rounds. She would throw herself backward, in complete surrender.

The other experience in childhood centering an affective reaction upon shoes and feet was an ungratified longing for white shoes, which all the other children were wearing and which her parents denied her. She spent a great deal of thought upon devising a way to make some white shoes of a piece of white satin that her mother possessed. This ungratified wish, like others, trivial in themselves,

came to be the type of other ungratified desires, and here is still another determinant of her jealousy of having her shoes touched. The white shoes were naturally associated with a wedding, the prospect of which was not to be relinquished. She revenged herself upon others, however, in the same manner as in the reaction of striking people in the back. She "beat them at their own game" once more, by attempting to pull their feet from under them, imagining the while that she was playing football. This has another determinant as we shall see later.

At times she refused to walk at all, forcing the nurses to carry her. This was the concrete expression of her transference of the ban upon the use of the sex organs to their symbol, the feet. It was not, as in cases of hysteria, loss of the power to use the feet, due to a subconscious suggestion, but a deliberate refusal to use them, because to use them was wrong. In a division of the personality so complete as that occurring in severe psychoses the formerly subconscious has risen to the surface as the conscious, so that the hysterical subterfuge is unnecessary.

She professed perfect confidence now in her ability to do anything she liked, while at the same time her feeling of insufficiency asserted itself in certain compensatory ideas and activities. She entertained the idea, for example, that the taller people were, the better they were, and she disliked the nurses who were short. Dwarfs were villains and giants were gods. The international drama entered again into this stage, as in helping Alsace-Lorraine (which represents herself) she is "helping a country that hadn't had a chance." She had never had, as no one ever has, all the opportunity for self-expression, and for imposing her will on others, that she desired, that is, "she had never had a chance." In this stage of her psychosis she was very dictatorial, managing everyone around her, getting jobs for them and planning their amusements, and making numerous elaborately worked out suggestions for the reform of the hospital regime. In the same manner she worked out new plans for her father's business, which she was going to take over.

Marriage and Maternity.—Soon after giving away her clothes, she distributed, in her last three monthly excitements, her old beaux to the other patients, because she no longer needed these, just as she no longer wanted the clothes. None of them, not even "Francis," could satisfy her now. Her husband to be was an ideal, god-like, father-like, not yet encountered, but sure to come, and for him she prepared. The nearest approach to her ideal, an approach so near

that she allowed him to represent the ideal for the time being, though aware that he was a proxy, was the one male physician that she encountered. She made it a working hypothesis, so to speak, that she was married to him, an hypothesis that it would be most comfortable for all concerned to assume, but still not an actual fact. The real marriage was to be to the god-like father of early infancy, an image lost to her in the disillusion of growing up. The proxy was not God—though she was much struck by the fact that another patient considered him thus, but he was the next thing to God; he was an angel. Sometimes he came nearer to earth and was only the president. His voice impressed her as being the most wonderful she had ever heard, the voice being the symbol of the power vested in great rulers—such as a father's. His every word carried weight and had a profound influence upon her thought, as if they were indeed the oracles of God. Just such weight had her father's words carried until the adolescent struggle for emancipation began.

A third instance of her mania for giving away things, which always cropped up in the middle of her infantile stage and always sprang in part from the common impulse of bestowing on others the things she had no more use for, was her wrapping various odds and ends into "surprise packages" and giving or sending them to her favorite doctors. The unconscious thought, brought to light by the free-association method, in giving the surprise package, was that something very precious was concealed in the wrappings, and this precious thing was the great secret of new life—a child. She took the position that she did not really wish to give birth to children (the obsessing wish of the preliminary stages of her psychosis) but that she could easily do so if she did wish it. She bestowed her gifts graciously but casually, and with an undercurrent of amusement, as if she would say: "Take the precious thing if you want it. It is nothing to me." It is exactly the attitude of a child playing at omnipotence. She is beating her mother at her own game with a vengeance, and asserting her power over life as a whole. The act of giving the packages was accompanied by the hilarious amusement of one perpetrating a huge joke. She recognized the symbolism of her act and its inadequacy, while yet its fitness as an expression of her will to subdue life to her uses was a sufficient stimulus to its performance. Jest in dreams comes to mind as expressing the exultation one feels at getting by the censor with the forbidden thought. Here she jests with the greatest secret of all and proves to herself that she is its master. This activity is at a transitional level between

the infantile sort of thought and activity and that confused symbolism, that intermingling of the animate and the inanimate, that identifying of the self with the external world that marks the lowest stage of the evolution of the psyche, which we call the archaic. Finding the desires expressed at the infantile level still incapable of adequate satisfaction, the patient slipped rapidly, each month, into the third stage, with a less clearly defined interval than that marking off the adolescent stratum from the infantile.

ARCHAIC FORMATIONS

When, in the course of the psychotic attempts at adaptation to an unfriendly world, the successive failures reduce the personality to the archaic level of reaction, distinctly differing trends of fixation of the libido drop out, leaving an almost undifferentiated, chaotic mass of auto-erotic wishes and attempts at satisfactions. It is a stage in which there is confused identification of the psyche not only with the parents but with the external world. Here the most bizarre symbolism comes into play, taken from the animal, the plant, and the inorganic spheres. Here there is no longer, as a rule, any attempt to adapt to the realities of environment, as there always is in the fantasy-stages of early and later childhood. The patient was not abstracted from her environment but still fantastic delusions held complete sway over her consciousness, distorting the objects about her, to which she was keenly alive. Her attitude toward the obsessing fantasies was not one of passive surrender, however, as it so often is in the *præcox*. The sense of the discord between the demands of reality, to which her self-respect subscribed, and the fantasies to which her most primitive and hitherto repressed wishes led her, continued to incite a painful conflict, exhibited by either a hilarious or an angry mood, and by a consciousness of mental suffering that pervaded even the most pleasurable fancies at times. She contemplated the unrestrained productions of her libidinous imagination with horror even while she enjoyed them. This horror and remorse, mingled with fear of their obsessive power, was necessarily an element of her depression in the semi-lucid intervals that followed the excitements.

The obsession by a story once read of a mummy that came to life and committed a murder haunted the deepest phase of each excitement, serving as a parable of the auto-erotic libido that rightfully belonged to a life passed by and done with but which now rose up to slay her. It is of the same order as the clutching skeleton

hand occurring in the nightmares of many neurotics, which represents the repressed auto-erotic desire, and the "Alp Traum" treated by Ernest Jones.¹⁵ The mummy is a dead, atrophied thing, horrible in its suggestion of death in life, and no more striking symbol than this can be imagined of the resurrection of buried instincts which the growing psyche has condemned. From her window the patient could see a tree in which she fancied the mummy hid himself. Jung has shown us the significance of the tree as a mother symbol, and a ramifying affective complex about trees analyzed very clearly, in this patient, into regressive wishes toward life within the mother. In imagination she reconstructed her room to suit her needs and toward the lower left half of it she always placed a tree, in which she was to sleep. The juxtaposition of the tree and the mummy is a striking evidence of the identical character of the primitive mother-fixation and the narcissistic fixation, as pointed out by Trigant Burrow. Sleeping in the tree symbolized a return to the mother-life.

A second well-known mother-symbol, or symbol of the prenatal, intrauterine life, is, in some connections, water, and water played a great part in the fancies of the patient. A chimney in her room focused her fancy. She thrust her feet up it as far as they would go, remaining in this position for minutes at a time. She sometimes put her excreta in it. It was to be her avenue of escape, even though she knew it was too narrow to admit her body. She always expected water to come down it to relieve her thirst. The water in this case is a double symbol, as many objects, in this primitive stage of development, are double. It is also a male symbol, a symbol of fertility and of the life-giving germ. In support of the masculine significance of the symbol is the fact that the patient felt that no one but the male physician fully understood her great thirst. The things which she gave him credit for understanding seem to have been invariably connected with masculine or father-fixations, while she trusted in her woman physicians for understanding of her mother and narcissistic trends. The significance of water as a mother symbol was more widely distributed through her fantasy and activity, as we might expect from its primal character. She ruminated much about evolution, thinking that she had come through water; she went through the motions of swimming while lying in bed; she greatly enjoyed her hydro-treatment, consciously seeing in the pack a dramatization of birth, and making a game of wriggling out of her

¹⁵ Der Alptraum, *Freud's Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde*, 14, 1912.

sheets, when the nurse was not watching, to prove that she could manage her emergence into the world without the nurse's (mother's) assistance. She placed wet towels next her body, under her clothing, "for hydrotherapy" when she could not be in the water. One of the stories—a prime favorite of her childhood—that occupied her was that of the little mermaid who sacrificed her tail and obtained feet that she might marry the prince. This story is carrying over into the later upward strivings toward womanhood, but it holds the elements of her entire conflict within its meaning. In the seclusion of her room she acted the part of the mermaid.

At times she imagined herself at the center of the earth, which again represents the intrauterine life, where the child is indeed in the center of its world. Or else she had flown to one of the planets, Uranus usually, which was to be a world only for women. She was a pioneer, to show other women the way to this hitherto unpeopled world. She could see herself seated upon the planet like Watts's painting of Hope. She chose Uranus because it is the planet that is almost invisible. Neptune is entirely invisible, while the others of our solar system are visible. In this fantasy she excludes all but women, that is, all but her mother and herself, and these two are one. The near-invisibility of Uranus signified obtaining the almost impossible. Other fancies connected with this regression were that she was in the Black Hole of Calcutta, that she was in a cave or a prison. She slept usually, during this period, in the fetal position. She tore open her bed pad, extracted the rolls of cotton, and crept inside it, completely enclosing herself within it. At the beginning of the archaic stage of her excitement, going over from the infantile, she, on two occasions, sewed pockets into her clothes, turning up folds to accomplish this. She had set out to mend the seams she had ripped and could not resist the impulse to make pockets.

In the imagined rearrangement of her room, before mentioned, there was a place near the tree which she called the "Cat's grave," and on which she laid pieces of her father's paper, after tearing them in four. For the explanation of this we must go back to an affective memory of an incident of her childhood. Someone dropped a flat iron on her cat, breaking its back. The sight of the injured animal, and its death, was horrible to her, but held the fascination that such things do for children. It was, perhaps, the first distinct contact with pain and death. It became another of those type incidents about which later experiences of like affective content were

associated. Dr. Jelliffe¹⁰ has elucidated for us the significance of animals to the child, and to the adult as well, through their association with primitive man. For this girl the animal became the symbol of her own untamed libido, its death, therefore, the symbol of the sacrifice which she must make, and its grave an altar. On this altar she laid a thing which stood for her father—his product, the paper which he edited—first tearing it into four pieces to symbolize her rebirth by union with her father, since four is the number of spirituality. "The Lady or the Tiger" was one of the growing list of stories read and recurring to memory now as dramatizing her struggle. Fascinated by the idea, she pictured herself choosing the beast.

A step higher than the animal symbolisms enters the negro-complex, found in so many psychoses. The backward trend, the drag back into the mire of unbridled animal desire, was symbolized by a representative of a lower race. She laughed over the fancy that the people about her were negroes disguised as white, but shuddered with the fear that she had negro blood—the lower taint, and even imagined that her father was really a *colored woman*. A patient suffering from a comparatively benign psychosis dreamed, at a time of great stress, that she was approached, while walking in an open field, by a negro woman who threatened and then pursued her, with a switch. The dream took an unaccountable hold upon her fancy so that she tried to bring it back, waking, in order to finish it. Analysis showed that the negro woman represented her father, as the switch, the threat and the pursuit indicate an identification of father and patient similar to, or identical with, the mother-identification. In the same connection men were thought by the patient to be disguised as women impersonating the nurses. One of these she called "Elizabeth Electricity," thinking that she had both male and female characters.

A poetic fancy and one original with this patient, so far as I know, was that of "Burbanking" to produce a blue rose, by grafting a rose upon an oak. The oak represents the parent, the rose herself, while the blue rose is the bisexual superself she would like to be. This brings us to the elaborate color symbolism worked out by the patient, an entirely spontaneous production which motivates many of her most disordered actions, and of which she gave a spontaneous interpretation toward the close of the analysis. Colors

¹⁰ Jelliffe, S. E., and Brink, Louise: The Rôle of Animals in the Unconscious, *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, 1917.

were real and vital to her scheme of life, and while they were applied in many ways to typify her sexual struggle, perhaps it will suffice to give their working out in connection with the colored blankets, which, it will be remembered, she tore into strips and wove into garments. Gray blankets with blue stripes in them were feminine and bad. The blue could never be made right so long as it remained alone, so the blue stripes must be torn out and mingled with other colors. She said, at first, that she was afraid of these blankets, then corrected herself with the statement that she was not afraid but felt that she was very brave indeed not to be afraid of them. The brown and red blankets were masculine, and the red stripe must be torn out and bound around her head to complete her costume. It was the crown of her womanhood. This, altogether, was the Guinevere and Lancelot costume. The blue was Guinevere and the red Lancelot.

The blanket symbols also had a determinant from the masturbation complex, through her conviction that they were alive. When she was in a violent state the nurses sometimes threw the blankets into her room. To her disordered fancy, they jumped at her like tarantulas; tarantulas, spiders and scorpions all played a part in her dreams as masturbation symbols. The four colors were woven together to neutralize the evil blue which never could be right alone. She was not satisfied unless she had a blanket of each color, always putting the blue striped one next to her body, as the female-mother-blanket must necessarily be nearest her, but feeling very incompletely and even indecently covered if she did not have the red striped one also. She felt that it was inconceivably cruel of the attendant to give her only the blue striped blanket, forcing her to the crime of consorting only with her own sex. She sat up all night, industriously tearing up the blankets, though ready to drop with weariness and groaning over the severe task. This was after they had been worn one above the other as described. A closer union became necessary and so she intermingled them by weaving. She thinks now that the rags were always taken away from her before she had fully completed the costume she was trying to make. Gray, itself, freed of the blue, was a neutral color, imagined to be flesh color, hence, herself, produced of the union of male and female. Draped in the gray she was invisible, as she was also when dressed in black and white, which are negations of color. She made a ring of the gray and put it on the third finger of her right hand. This was an invisible wedding ring of flesh color and symbolized her

union with both parents. It may be recalled that at the onset of her psychosis, she stole her mother's wedding ring. Best of all she loved the soft white blankets sometimes given her when she was growing quiet. These were innocent baby blankets, pure of sexual significance, representing the time of her own life when she knew not good and evil. She never tore these. The main individual source of her unpleasant association with blue was the fact that it was her sister's color. Her sister had blue eyes, while hers were hazel. Her sister wore blue, and was popular, hence both condemned and envied. Her sister had been the chief object of her childish affections and was afterward hated.

This complex of color, making blue the a-social, homosexual symbol, supports the researches of Smith Ely Jelliffe along this line, and shows also, by its various connections, how intimate is the relation between homosexuality, auto-eroticism and the love of the mother's body, in girls as well as in boys. For the color complex, working through other objects, was nevertheless nowhere so completely worked and understood by the patient, nowhere so efficient as an impulse to action of an arduous nature, as it was when presented to her in the blankets, which, by their function and fabric, typified the protection and warmth accorded to infancy by the mother. And we need not forget the little gray shawl—torn now from a blanket—the gift of a grandfather.

A waking dream of the patient which involves her identification of herself with her mother was that she was acting the part of Joan of Arc. The selection of this personage is determined in many ways, both superficial and fundamental. Joan is a combination of her own and her sister's names. She would have liked "Jo" to be a brother instead of a sister. Anne, her own name, was the name of the mother of "Mary," who is the great mother of all. This means that she becomes the mother of her mother, like MacCurdy's patient. By the identification process she then becomes the Virgin Mother, the Savior of the Race, the Mother of the World, the Mother of France, which, we must remember, was her ideal country, typifying the goal of her womanhood. Madame De Farge, the fury in Dickens's story of the French Revolution, "A Tale of Two Cities," was identified with a patient near her, as the wicked mother, representing the other side of the complex, just as the condemnation of the blue striped blankets represented it.

The symbolism of numbers, fascinating to psychoanalysts, receives also a striking contribution from this patient. It may be

remembered that she was much interested in mathematics, including mathematical terms in her stream of talk, and once informing her doctor that she was "psychoanalyzing religion by mathematics." As it is not possible here to go into the many branches of this subject, I shall occupy myself only with the core of it, which is the significance of the number six. A superficial determinant of this number is that it was the real number of her family, including the two dead infants, whereas the ostensible number 4, which she condemned as uninteresting, included only the surviving members. She desired to have six children. The first explanation of her preference for six as the perfect number was that it was the combination, both by adding and multiplying, of the first three prime numbers, 1, 2 and 3, and herein lies the key to its meaning. A pessimist, she said, would say that *three* was the perfect number. *Three* is the masculine number, representing the male genitalia, *two* the feminine, representing the female genitalia, and these two, combined in one, unite, bringing in also the symbol of their union—one—to form the perfect six. Again, from another angle, *one* is the masculine, coming *first*, and *two* the feminine, coming *second*. The patient expressed the wish to be *second* in a series of six, declaring that she would not be either first or third. An additional meaning given to this arrangement of numbers was that it stood for the family. Second place was the wife's place, while succeeding places were children. She wished to be the wife and mother.

Apropos, again, of her mother conflict, she fancied that she was a Lorelei and a submarine in one, that was to sink German ships, Germany being her mother's country. Her action in grabbing the feet of the nurses and trying to throw them down was partly instigated by this fancy. She planned to invent a combination submarine-aëroplane-cinematograph, which would carry out all her desires for self-expansion and sexual activity.

At no point in the delusional framework of a deep psychosis do we get a richer production of primitive ideas and mythology than in the acts and ideas dealing with the symbolization of impregnation. Commonest among these are the ideas dealing with food and eating, as Frazer's "Golden Bough" will readily bring to mind. Our patient had many such fancies, although of course she had long since consciously given up the alimentary theory held in childhood. Having no other clear idea, and having descended to the uncritical, symbolical, picturizing level of thinking, she reverted to this theory as a basis for her fantasies of impregnation. Eggs were eaten with the

idea that she would have thereby a child. Glass, mercury and a needle were swallowed, with the expressed intention of committing suicide, but with an unconscious idea that they would have the same effect. She imagined, afterward, that the mercury came out at her eye, the eye being associated, substitutively, with the genital organs. She had great fear that her eyes would be injured, talked of how this was the only fatal injury, as broken limbs could be mended, and thought sometimes that this was an hospital for the blind. It may be recalled that a few months before the onset of the psychosis, she complained of eye strain and gave up all work for which close eye sight was required. Here we have the castration complex with the added primitive idea that that which the ego cannot or will not see does not exist.

Among food symbols, there were particular kinds of foods for which she expressed a constant preference and which were explained by her in the course of analysis. Brick ice cream, with chocolate, vanilla nut, and lemon ice layers was a favorite. It represented, first, something done that couldn't be undone. This was her own wrong sexual development. The chocolate meant negro blood; *i. e.*, the father-mother-self complex, as explained. The vanilla, stuck full of nuts, was impregnation. This was the middle layer. The top layer was lemon ice, which was pure heaven, associated with the Alps, rarified air, the perfect happiness following union. Pies of various varieties were indulged in, with a somewhat similar analysis of preference. The dark mince, like the chocolate, was negro blood. She was sure it was poisoned but ate it none the less.

In her attempts at decorative dressing, she invariably placed a flower over her left ear. The idea of impregnation by the ear has played its part in religious myth and is analyzed also in Jones's "Hamlet." That it should be the *left* side is significant, for the left is recognized by the patient as representing the *wrong* road. She sometimes held her left hand with her right for minutes at a time, as an intended means of keeping from wrongdoing. The flower was usually a carnation, if she could get it. Its strong odor and its shape, as well as its long life, gave it a peculiarly sexual significance. Impregnation by the ear involves also her recognition of power in voices, or auditory impressions.

It may be remembered that in the first development of her out-spoken psychosis, she imagined her operation—dilatation and curettage—to have been an assault, picturing the instrument as a cross. Its purpose was conceived to be to cure her of masturbation, hence

the assault was in the nature of martyrdom, since it meant a supreme sacrifice of her self-indulgent habits. This fancy recurred in the later attacks. The window-frame threw a cruciform shadow on the floor of her room. On this cross she lay, as a martyr, playing a combination rôle of Joan of Arc and Christ. She was saving the race—by expansion, herself—by sacrificing herself. The cross as a phallic symbol is too well established to need discussion here.

Machines of various sorts were dreaded, more than human beings—as having power to influence or hurt her. These too are well known masculine sex-symbols. Her greatest fear, she confided at one time, was of being run over by an engine.

These fantasy-formations, related in the course of analysis, during which the patient was convalescing, were accompanied by a great deal of activity, only fully intelligible in the light of the underlying fantasies. The movements of the patient were all of them attempts at acting out the fancies that possessed her, in the same free and unrepressed way that children act out their fairy-tales. She seldom sank into a passive state, was, on the contrary, in a press of activity, though when visitors entered she might stand or sit silent and go through motions suggestive of a sign language. The dramatized fantasies gave vent to the deep-lying, repressed wishes and wish-conflicts of the patient, in the realm of her psycho-sexual life. Her desire for complete heterosexuality, her struggle with homosexuality, her incestuous trend toward her father, her infantile identification with her mother, her auto-erotic network of wishes and denial of wishes, are expressed in varying forms, and all are woven together. To find satisfaction for her soul hunger, to find a scope of activity where she need not feel inferior or pressed upon or circumscribed, to find a medium of contact with life by which she may keep her supremacy, these are the basis and the inspiration of the fantastic thoughts and activities of the succeeding phases of the psychosis. The connection of these with the menstrual period suggests that there was a sharpening of the conflict with the exacerbation of sexual feelings upon the approach of menstruation. The temptation to masturbation was always greatest just preceding the menstrual period. The case is unusually well defined as exemplifying the psycho-sexual monthly cycle. Failure to find adequate satisfaction for the desires which increased in intensity seems a very possible reason for the gradual drop to a distinctly lower level of mental integration. This drop was seen not only in the loss of correct adaptation to surroundings, as shown by behavior, but also in the char-

acter of the fancies in possession of the mind, as I have tried to show in my division of the subject. When, with establishment of menstruation, relief for the sexual tension was partially obtained, the intense effort to find expression and attainment ceased, and the patient subsided into an irritable, somewhat querulous mood, like that of a disappointed child. This gave way to humility, ideas of unworthiness, and penitence, characteristic of depressive states, as she came back into touch with reality. As these states were steps toward recovery, it is not surprising that her recovery finally was built up out of a prolonged depression which had no slightest recurrence of the more serious manic phase.

V

After analysis, and accompanying analysis, came the difficult work of reconstruction of the personality, with the object of substituting wholesome thought-habits and adequate adaptations for the old faulty habits and arrested upward trends. Analysis of the patient's dreams here played a great part, not only in bringing up the half-understood material in the psychotic productions, but also in pointing out the course which the reconstruction was to take and marking the milestones of progress. The dream is not merely the expression of a repressed wish, it is also the statement of a problem, and often the forecast of a solution. Dream analysis was taken up in the depressed intervals between the manic attacks, with marked results, which showed most clearly when the depressed phase again returned. The complexes resolved were, in order, the sister-complex, the father-complex, the mother-complex, and the Narcissus-complex. This temporal order corresponds exactly to the order of development, taking the latest first, and going down to the earliest, most fundamental. The sister-complex was solved by making conscious the feeling of jealousy, followed, at first, by considerable compensatory sentiment about the sister but ending in a just appreciation of her, with the resolve to cease competition and to win equality along lines of activity different from her sister's. She definitely conceded to her sister her rightful superiority along certain lines, but held her own in others. A necessary but transient phase of the solving of this conflict was the exalting of her sister to a mother's place. She drew a picture of *one* of the *six* windows in her cathedral, showing her sister as the consoling mother, with the patient resting her head upon the sister's lap, while on either side, on a lower level, were represented father and mother, the father

typifying selfishness and greed, the mother, indolence and ignorance. Under the patient's form was written "Crazy? Yes—and Why?" The parents were the answer to this, with their selfishness, ignorance and indolence. The cathedral was her ideal home, the six windows meant her number of complete happiness, and her sister, the ideal woman, which she could not reach. An analysis of this, taken with a dream of similar import, brought a sane adjustment of her attitude toward her sister, with a change also in the homosexual character of her dreams.

Bearing on the father-complex came dreams of the kaiser-type, one involving cannibalism and one of a savage island, peopled by a bestial race, into the royal family of which she was to be forced to marry. The analyses of these, and of her waking fantasies, revealed to her fully the true nature of her attitude toward her father, spontaneously resolving the sexual conflict connected with it, and leaving her with a greater degree of emancipation from her father's influence, and the normal attitude of a grown-up daughter.

Dreams of a homosexual character, and of re-birth followed. With the analyses of these, adjustment to the mother was accomplished. Then came the long and difficult task of unwrapping the libido from its windings about the self. The tactful introduction of new interests, the stimulation of ambition through talks on her plans for the future, through reading of biographies, and through reestablishment of communication with home and friends were called to the aid of analysis here. The struggle was severe, the difficulty of giving up the lifelong pleasurable preoccupation with herself being equalled by the shame of her realization, which led her to feel that she could never be worth while and that death was still her only solution. An obsession that her death would fittingly come by *hanging* gives an indication of the persistent infantile subjectivity, since hanging symbolizes a perversion of the return to intrauterine life and also the auto-erotic trend. In the analyses of these trends, an effort was made to bring before the patient adequate conceptions of the best sexual life of a woman and to present a constructive and altruistic philosophy of life. Her sense of responsibility as a young woman to the race developed with her growing hope of recovery as the freeing of the libido from the lower object advanced.

A dream of particular interest dramatized the final stages of this phase of reconstruction, utilizing fantasy material of her whole psychosis and expressing her conclusion as to the place of her sex-instinct. She dreamed that she was brushing her hair (hair being

one of her chief secondary fixation points) and that a long piece came down. Some one exclaimed "Oh, it is a snake head." She looked, saw that it was a snake, pulled it off, and threw it down, without any emotion. As it lay upon the floor it became a very small creature, neither animal nor man, but rather a sort of black mannequin. This creature began to moan and cry and then to sing in a plaintive way about the oppression of its race, the refrain being "When shall I be free?" She thought how surprising it was that such beautiful poetry and music should be produced by that ugly little animal. The little animal represents her libido with its conflict, starting with the sexual symbols of her hair and the snake. After this dream the reconstruction went on rapidly, as the sexual problem was really solved, and about all that remained to do was the overcoming of external factors that hindered the establishment of complete rapport with a normal environment. This has been done and the patient has been quite well for four months.

VI

Here we have a psychosis which analysis shows to have been a series of constructive efforts at asserting the worth of the personality and overcoming, or else avoiding, the obstacles in the way of a satisfactory self-expression and the establishment of useful and necessary connections with society. Failure to find avenues of expression consistent with the demands of society and satisfying to the demands of the ego, inability to make the progressive adaptations required of the adolescent, through too firm a fixation on the earlier objects of affective interest, a tendency to over-anxiousness for perfection of conduct and disproportionate shame at blunders which greatly decreased the ability to meet new situations, working cumulatively through years, brought the individual at last to the point where desperate efforts to live with her environment were less and less consistent with the demands of the realities of the situation. At last they passed the bounds of the normal; that is, they served no recognized useful purpose, although they expressed the trends of the personality as truly as normal activity expresses it.

Beginning with a defective heredity, a probable weakness of the female organs, liability to infections of various sorts, and, as seems likely in view of the patient's inability to master some finer coordinations in spite of good muscular development, a defect in motor control, we have the basis for the development of an inferior personality. These defects were well-compensated by a bright mind

and a lively and attractive character, which carried the patient pretty successfully through childhood. Isolation, adult companionship, spoiling and petting, however, fostered a strong egoism, while faulty hygiene developed auto-erotic tendencies. Serious difficulties occurred at adolescence, partly from physical causes, but largely from ignorance of sexual things. The sense of inferiority became a mastering obsession, sharpened to a distressing degree by the constant rivalry of her more fortunate sister. Timidity resulting from this mental attitude made easy social adaptation impossible, while the centering of affections upon the home circle, and particularly upon the father, further jeopardized the wider social relations necessary to full development. The first indication of a breakdown—the gastric disturbance—occurred after the humiliation of reading the derogatory remarks in her sister's diary. This rebuff bound her sexual interest more firmly to the childhood objects. The second breakdown, of a neurasthenic character, when she gave up her studies because no longer equal to them, followed her love affair with a younger boy and her infection with syphilis. The third, of a depressive nature, really continuous with the second, but more outspoken, followed events that brought her failure home to her anew. Delusions developed with the operation that stirred up the severe sexual conflict involving father-fixation, fear of marriage and masturbation. A disappointment in which she was made to feel her childish helplessness in the hands of others preceded the definite manic attack. These events are milestones in the life history that led to a breakdown of a poorly integrated personality.

Time after time her normal affective reactions were suppressed by conditions of the family life, and an abnormal, partial, or infantile type of reaction substituted for the normal. The fundamental difficulty was in sexual development. When the patient perceived this, as she did, without understanding the cause, she found the problem thus created in view of the tabu of society so distressing that the situation was intolerable. A two-fold retreat became necessary; first, a retreat from the real into the fantastic world; and, second, a compensating activity in fields where there was hope of succeeding. It is this *activity*, this persistent endeavor to meet and control the environment, albeit under conditions dictated by the patient, that imparts to her psychotic conduct its distinctly manic character as opposed to the *præcox*. She did not give up her connection with her real environment, but reacted to it in a manner reproductive of the adaptive forms of her immaturity, which did not

accord with the demands made by society upon the adult. This sort of retreat showed regular stages in a striking manner, the meaning of which cannot escape us. With each flight into active efforts at control of her external surroundings came a relief of the tension which she experienced in her endeavor to reach up to a situation to which she had not grown, with a consequent intense euphoria. The basal conflicts, concerning marriage, father, masturbation, fought to gain satisfactory solution in these activities. They attained a partial consciousness, could not be reconciled with the highest social trends of the personality, created a new tension, which was relieved by a further descent to a level of cultural development where the demands were less complex, where the individual was less subservient to social laws (as in childhood), and so on until the lowest level consistent with conscious life was reached. The patient never relapsed into inactivity for any length of time.

The psychomotor activity, schemes, inventions, etc., were a defense against her sense of failure, keeping her mind filled with a gratifying sense of achievement. They were also a compensation for the humiliating feeling that she was a passive instrument, a feeling due more to her homosexual trend—never fully matured—and its concomitant father-fixation, than to the actual circumstances of her life. In her excited periods she showed eager attempts at heterosexual relations, writing letters to all her former male friends, declaring her love to one or two, and planning her marriage. Defense and compensation thus appear to be the motives for the psychotic behavior in general, while the nature of her several activities is very clearly seen to relate to her fundamental complexes arising from those conflicts of feeling which made normal adjustment to the progressively greater demands of mental growth an impossibility. As each of these arose anew as a stumbling block in her path of self-assertion, the point in her life where the painful conflict was initiated was reverted to and lived over.

The determination of the *form* which the psychosis—or maladjustment to environment—assumed seems to resolve into a question of personality.¹⁷ In this case there is a childhood history corresponding very closely to the type of histories found for the *præcox* group and also for the psychoneuroses. That is, there is a failure in psychosexual development, fostered by environmental conditions inimical to free social development. The personality, however, is not of the *præcox* type. The patient is an emotional, sensitive,

¹⁷ Jelliffe and White, *Diseases of the Nervous System*, p. 749.

energetic girl, responsive to her environment and particularly responsive to persons. She was never seclusive, although her social relations were seldom—or for long—satisfactory to herself. She reacts to the rebuffs of fate by an energetic effort at achievement of some sort, though her efforts are not wisely directed. She halts for a time on the verge of true introversion but avoids it by a flight into a stream of activity at a level where obstacles are not, for the time being, insurmountable. Gradually the plane of action falls to the archaic level so characteristic of the *præcox*, but it does not remain there. Continuous effort at assertion of her individual worth brings about at first partial, and finally, with the aid of analysis, which brought the whole conflict and its causes to consciousness, complete rehabilitation.

The conclusion suggested is that cases of the manic-depressive type of reaction may have the same complex of causes, the core of which is failure at successive points of psychosexual development, that is found to underly the *præcox* group and the hysterics. That a serious functional mental disorder must have such a background of failure to react in useful ways, that it is the result of a series of vicious conditioned reflexes, is a theory finding support in most of the psychoanalytic work of recent years. The fact that the manic-depressive patient has been able, in his normal periods, to exercise a greater amount of repression over the destructive conflicts and to keep his touch with reality, has in most cases veiled the true history of his development. Given the fundamental conflicts, the atypical archaic manifestations are possible, as MacCurdy has shown. A close analysis of the actions of other manics might show the presence of archaic notions, where they are less on the surface than in this patient.

That every functional psychosis is a regression to a less well organized and complex stage of development—namely, to a somewhat infantile stage, where the repressions of conventional life are partly laid aside—while it is at the same time a constructive effort at achievement of the ends of the ego, an effort at self-expression of an adequate sort, is our most useful conception of functional mental disease. The case here under discussion makes possible the application of this conception in detail to the manic-depressive type. The conclusion follows that a life history of a certain sort and delusions of a certain sort do not determine the case as benign or deteriorating; rather, it is the capacity on the part of the individual to maintain an active effort toward domination of a hindering en-

vironment while keeping in consciousness and relating to these activities the general nature of the difficulty. Such a capacity in the individual does not permit of the mental sagging down perceived in the true introversion type, and tends to bring about, by successive efforts, a final successful adjustment. This may occur spontaneously, with the certainty that new difficulties will bring new deadlocks, with the flight into defensive abnormal activity. If it occurs with the insight lent by a thorough analysis there is a chance that the old vicious habits of adaptation may be broken up and adequate methods of meeting problems established. The manic-depressive psychosis, then, as we know it, may develop out of the same sort of general psychic situation as the *præcox*, and the underlying fantasy controlling its activities may be of as primitive a nature as those underlying the profounder disturbance of the *præcox*. The difference, as well as we can ascertain it, lies in the attainment by the individual of a more robust character, making for a type of reaction less vicious in its effects, and less incongruous with the world of reality, than that of the so-called deteriorating psychosis.

REACTION TO PERSONAL NAMES¹

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It has been pointed out by Abraham² that the name a person bears is often a determining factor in influencing definite psychic reactions, such as scorn, pride or shame, upon the person himself. Such a tendency is exemplified by the remark of one of my youthful patients, in a profound depression, "My name is Chrystal and I should be pure"—a comment which, by the way, revealed the gist of his depression.

In the course of other analyses of patients complaining of various neurotic symptoms, there has been a striking frequency with which patients have referred to their attitude toward their Christian names or in some way altered their surnames. Where the reaction has had any intense force, the vital influence has depended *not* so much upon the force of the name on the person, as Abraham states, *but upon innate feelings which the patient believes* is in some way mirrored in his name, to or against his advantage.

Silberer has aptly compared the name of a person to his shadow. Although it accompanies him throughout life and is inseparable from him, when impassively examined, there is nothing in the name which is an integral part of himself. At times it is possible by traveling under an incognito for the person to escape from his name. The assumed name temporarily conceals him as night does a shadow. But a person can never quite escape from his real name and the incognito becomes comparable to the shadow, which inevitably disappears in the light of the morning sun.

Unquestionably many names (such as Theodore and Woodrow in America or Victoria in England) are bestowed upon children with the more or less conscious hope that the person may, in the future, emulate or surpass the qualities attributed by the donor to the child's namesake. The name represents an omen that coming events may cast their shadows before. Thus the bearer of the name from association begins to identify himself with his namesake and

¹ Manuscript received March 18, 1917.—[Ed.]

² Abraham, *Zentralblatt für Psycho-analyse*, Vol. II, p. 133.

assumes to a greater or less extent the qualities with which the name is invested.

Many of the fanciful girls' names undoubtedly reflect the longing of a mother to identify the future of her offspring with the romantic qualities of some heroine of fiction—qualities and experiences perhaps desired by the mother herself but entirely lacking in her prosaic existence. Often such names form an amusingly incongruous combination with a surname which we have come to identify with the commonplace.

It is striking, here in America, how with the change of conventional ideals, the type of given names has varied from generation to generation. The Biblical names of Puritan days appear to have yielded to more euphonious ones of aristocratic British or French origin and these in turn have more recently given way to the simpler, "strong," short names.

One of my youthful patients expressed a violent repugnance for his rather fastidious name, Leroy, which was yoked to a common name of German origin, let us say, Meyer. Leroy considered his name so effeminate ("sissified") that he blushed whenever he mentioned it. Probably to most persons Leroy carries no such connotation. Leroy, however, had himself remained a "spoilt baby," for all his nineteen years, and I interpreted his antipathy to the weakness which he considered connected with his name to be a protest against a quality which he felt to be very strong in himself and revealed by his name.

In the matter of the surname the bearer is more likely to identify it with characteristics attributed to his ancestors. When an individual attaches a feeling of disdain or shame to such a name, he usually bases it upon a sense of inferiority existing more or less consciously in himself. Thus, an Italian patient, a professional man, ashamed of the general social position of his countrymen in America, altered his Dippucci to de Pucci, to lend it a French (aristocratic) air; a Jewish patient abbreviated his Linkenstein to Link; a third, Christian, American born, upon reaching maturity, abandoned his noble German name of von Landsschaffshausen for a typically English name, the maiden name of his mother.³

³ It has repeatedly occurred to me that the generally favorable attitude of Americans towards the Allies in the present European conflict is in some measure influenced by an unconscious desire on their part to identify themselves with the gentility and chivalry of the French and the aristocratic reserve of the English rather than with the vulgarity, awkwardness and grossness which is so universally associated with the Germans. That there

A curious contrast in his attitude to his given and his surname is furnished by a Greek patient, who was analyzed because of a compulsive idea. Although he had been christened with the sonorous name of Aristarchos (Panthos), he now responds to the non-committal name of Harry, which was bestowed upon him by his first American employer, who found Aristarchos far too cumbersome for daily use. While the patient heartily dislikes Harry and also his Greek surname, he is particularly partial to Aristarchos, which he wishes it were feasible for him to resume, notwithstanding its conspicuously foreign sound.

The reaction to each name is here again determined by the personal longings of the bearer and evidently not vice versa. His dislike to his surname may be superficially assigned, in part to its Grecian sound, which identifies him with what he considers an inferior race (all Greeks in America are peddlers, boot blacks, etc.), and in part to his violent antipathy to his father, a man some thirty-five years older than the patient's mother.

On the other hand, his pride in Aristarchos, which is certainly even more distinctly Greek than Panthos, seems inexplicable if his aversion to Greek identification be accepted. If we revert for a moment to elementary Greek, we find that Aristarchos signifies the "best leader" (aristos = the best; archos = the ruler) or perhaps more colloquially, the chief or boss.

The patient's pride in his Christian name began early—probably when his rivalry and hatred of his father, now undisguised, was still in its most rudimentary stages. He recalls the flush of pride which he experienced even as a little boy, when in calling him to return home from his play, his father would sing out, "Oh, Aristarchos." Possibly his thrill came from being called the "chief" by his father (his master) but in addition the patient has always been a strong exhibitionist, with tendencies to usurp the most prominent rôle whenever opportunity offers. In other words his name indicates what it is his deepest wish to really be, namely the chief, and this tendency is so strong that it overwhelms his aversions to its objectionable foreign sound, which partially accounted for his dislike to his father's name of Panthos. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the significance of leadership embodied in Aristarchos must remain a fact of almost exclusively personal knowledge, is a certain conscious tendency in this direction is evidenced in innumerable ways: certain fashionable shops pay larger salaries to salespeople speaking with an "English" accent. Wanamaker advertises his dressmaking establishment "au quatrieme," etc.

whereas Aristarchos itself, here in America, in the class among whom he associates (clerks), certainly would be open to ridicule.

The patient's fondness for Aristarchos in antithesis to his dislike for Panthos is a reflection of the typical father rival complex. As the patient's love for his youthful mother (35 years younger than his father) has assumed a frank conscious sexual aspect, it is quite natural that he should hate the man who possesses her and the name which he (and she) bears (Panthos). Aristarchos, on the other hand, designates him in his father's rôle, the chief (the head of the house), thus satisfying his desire to overcome his father, even though this be so shallow a substitute as in name only.

Reactions of this kind are individual, dependent upon attempts on the part of the patient to counteract, in a feeble way, inherent feelings of weakness. Very unusual names like Paderewski or perfectly humble ones, like Andrew Jackson, create no pronounced comment on the part of the public because of the high achievements attained by their bearers, though if the former name belonged to a clothing peddler and the latter to a negro barber, they might form the basis for a considerable reaction on the part of either the individual or the public.

The instances just cited all represent fairly obvious interpretations of reactions. In the analysis of the following case, where the repugnance reverts to infantile echolalia which represents one of the earliest forms of rhythmic muscle and mucous membrane erotism, there is unfolded a far more elemental basis than in the examples above or those reported by Abraham or Stekel.

Robert "Braun," a patient under analysis for a psycho-neurosis, could "never stand" his Christian name. It appears that the origin of his antagonism may be traced to the period when he acquired the first rudiments of sound expression. Under the tutelage of his aunt, who was intrusted with his care in babyhood, among the first things he was taught to babble was naturally enough his own name, Bob-bee (Bobbie).

In this connection it must be emphasized that Robert was the first born and for seven years the only child in the family, that is, the baby, and hence most important member of the little household.⁴ So, in common with most other babies, one of the other sounds early acquired was bay-bee (baby). Inasmuch as Bob-bee and bay-bee were one and the same, it may be inferred he would repeat in the automatic, childish way, without distinction of meaning, in an alternating series: Bob-bee, bay-bee; Bob-bee, bay-bee.

⁴ The analysis of many symptoms of this case was published in the New York Medical Journal, July 22, 1916.

Before long another appellation as a designation for Robert crept into the family parlance, namely a combination of the initial letters of his first and last names—B.B. (instead of Bobbie Braun.) Thus presently the echolalia incorporated these three pet names, now assuming the serial form: Bob-bee, bay-bee, bee-bee (B.B., *i. e.*, Bobbie Braun.)

As is so often the case in German families here in America where much of the tradition of German customs pervades the family life, the environment of Robert's home and nursery conformed to German ideals in language and spirit. Hence it is quite natural that among the terms in his early language acquisition should have been another phonetically similar and frequently used dissyllabic nursery expression, namely, bo-bo, a South German corruption for po-po, which is a common German term for the posterior parts or buttocks. Accordingly, with this amplification of his echolalia, the sounds produced by the little boy, then about four years old, assumed this form: Bob-bee (Bobbie), Bay-bee (Baby), Bee-bee (B.B.), Bo-bo (Behind).

A further determinant also has its source in euphemisms of the nursery. While urination was designated by the commonly employed sound combination of pee-pee, defecation was indicated by the syllables bay-bay. Bay-bay is the sound of the second letter of the German alphabet reduplicated, in other words nothing less than B.B. in German. Thus B.B. in German has for this boy a decidedly unsavory connotation.

Robert, as an only and carefully guarded child, was alone a great part of the time. Naturally he found much opportunity to babble to himself in playing his games and to indulge in the pastime of repeating rhythmic sounds with that satisfaction which echolalia in itself unquestionably yields to young children. We may think of him, a solitary little figure, swinging to and fro in a rocking chair, repeating over and over to himself, the formula in its final shape. Such actually is the picture which the patient draws of himself, for he has a distinct recollection of having spent hours by himself, even up to the age of eight, repeating over and over the echolalic rhythmic scale, which, though occasionally varied in order of the sounds, ran thus: Bob-bee, Bay-bee or Bee-bee, Bay-bay, Bo-bo.

The close affiliation of bay-bay and bo-bo, both phonetically and functionally, naturally soon became apparent to the child—bay-bay came from bo-bo. It was not a far step to identify through sound association, bob-bee (Bobbie) with bo-bo, and also bay-bee (Baby, *i. e.*, Robert) with bay-bay. When we recall that B.B. (German

bay-bay) was another of his names, it is comprehensible how with these auxiliary sound associations, his name became invested with all the disagreeable attributes of bay-bay and bo-bo.

While it is impossible here to recount the numerous details, it may be stated that Robert's anal-erotic (Bo-bo) activities, which included elaborate ceremonials of the rhythmic type and compulsive acts in connection with defecation, comprised the strongest element in his adolescent sexual life. In later years he unsuccessfully attempted to alter and suppress his sexual activities in the toilet (still in connection with bo-bo and bay-bay). His failure found a compensatory substitution expressed openly in his aversion to his name, connoting to him the activities associated with bo-bo and bay-bay. To restate my contention, it was far more desirable for Robert to express distaste for his name than to overcome the habits which his name connoted—far more feasible from a social point of view, to be ashamed of his name than his habits.

Pronounced aversions of this kind are almost never singly determined and in this instance we find an important secondary influence. When Robert was only five years old, his aunt, who acted as his mentor, detected a certain underhandedness in his actions, such as stealth in taking things, a tendency to conceal or deny the truth, etc. She often reproached him with this. Subsequently on his repetition of little sneaky acts, she would tauntingly refer to him as Bobbitzky, which term implied that he was not straightforward ("itzky" is a common termination of Polish Jewish names and this expression undoubtedly originated with the aunt in the prevalent idea among Germans that Polish Jews are especially untrustworthy). Realizing the implications of the suffix, Robert resented the odious Bobbitzky and it may be assumed, Bobby, from which it was derived.

Robert's sexual life (bo-bo activities) until manhood consisted of constant clandestine indulgences while to his family he maintained the semblance of chastity. In other words he persisted in being Bobbitzky (stealthy) with his bo-bo. Thus, I believe he came to hate Robert as reminiscent of both stealthiness and sexual practices, very vital problems, which he was arduously seeking to conquer.

It furthermore seems quite likely that these associations have been the unconscious determining factors in the patient's invariable habit of using only his first initial, R., in his signature (R. Braun) instead of writing his full name as is customary with persons having no middle name.

TRANSLATION

A STUDY OF THE MENTAL LIFE OF THE CHILD

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PART I. THE PERIOD OF INFANCY (THE SUCKLING)

I. THE FUNCTIONS OF THE SENSES IN THE SERVICE OF THE
AFFECTIVE LIFE OF THE INFANT

The *mental life* of the *infant* begins with the reaction to sensations induced by stimulations from without, as well as by those coming from within the body, from the internal bodily organs; and manifestations, on his part, of pleasure and of pain (or pleasantness and unpleasantness) soon occur which enable the adult to recognize that for the child certain occurrences within his environment are already becoming experiences.

Turning the eyes to the sun-lit window, starting at a sudden sound, feeling with lips and hands in seeking for the mother's breast which gives him nourishment—these acts, in spite of their partly automatic, partly instinctive character, are the first signs that the newborn child is taking notice of the surrounding world. In the apperception of these impressions (Eindrücke) by the infant there lies the germ (Keim) of the psychical process. To blinking at a dazzling light, screaming immediately succeeds. Hearing the tinkling of the bells on his sledge induces at once an expression of surprise—one of the most primitive feelings of infancy. A distressed wrinkling of the skin of the face follows scratching the

finger-nail upon glass. As soon as the first smile illumines the baby's face the mother loses no opportunity for calling forth on the features of her darling those sunbeams of joy, provoking them by means of all the little tendernesses and coaxing tones to which no normal child remains insensible through the first few months of life. Indeed, even the baby to whom falls but little loving care crows very early, contented on his pillow, when sunlight and wind trace a moving shadow-picture on the coverlet of his bed. Untiringly his eye follows the continual change of figures, and the rhythmic movements of the curtain-fringes in carriage or basket offer the little human being the first incentive to seize some object.

Of all the sensations characteristic of the first period of life there is none that has such great importance for the affective side of it as *do muscular sensations*. They become an inexhaustible source of pleasure and pain to the infant a few weeks, even a few days, old. "The first feelings of pleasure," writes Compayré,¹ "spring from the systematic (progressive), moderate exercise of the sense-organs, and from the satisfaction of the bodily needs.

Merely to exercise the muscles, whether it be those of the eye or of the arms and legs—even in and for itself—causes the child pleasure,—pleasure of a sort that he was prepared for in advance by his experiences within the mother's uterus, through the movements of his own body, as well as through the mechanical effects of external pressure exerted during the walking and other movements of the mother.

There is a better basis than simple superstition for the popular belief that those children are of especially erotic nature whose mothers during pregnancy have continued sexual intercourse until near delivery. In short there is reason to believe that it is not alone through the direct transmission of mental qualities that a strongly marked sexuality can be established in the infant; it may be induced also through purely physical influences resulting from the shakings of the mother's uterus, a source of stimulation in which a variety of muscle and skin sensations take their rise that have a certain effect long before the infant has reached complete maturity. This physically conditioned, heightened capacity for sexual feelings is observable as well in boys as girls; while, as is well known, the psychic transmission is a crossed one as a rule. If this assumption proves to be correct, then skin and muscle erotism must be regarded as the most primitive form of sexual feeling.

¹ Compayré, *Die Entwicklung der Kindesseele*, p. 133.

Infants certainly take much pleasure in these skin and muscle sensations, as is evident from the fact that even in the very first days children often show a strong desire to scratch. The Scupins² report in regard to their little son, that on the very first day he scratched his own face, and on the second day gave his grandmother painful scratches as she bent over him tenderly, and his little fingers struck in with claw-like firmness. In the third month the boy was tearing and scratching his own little hands; in the eighth, it brought him great delight to tousle his father's beard. And the latest form of diversion into which, according to his parents' statement, he threw himself with passionate zeal, was making a grasping movement toward their eyes.

Whatever is practiced passionately always has an erotic undertone; and, as a matter of fact, the infant who finds a source of pleasure in strong muscular activity always exhibits outward signs of emotion, such as increased brilliancy of the eyes, flushed cheeks, and so forth, that are well known to the adult as indications of sexual excitement. Scratching with the fingernails is one of the first acts for which the infant uses his newfound strength, and this tendency, after having been abandoned in the first years of life under the influence of training, often appears again spontaneously as an accompaniment of the sexual act, a time when, in many ways, and in both normal and abnormal (perverse) conditions of sexual excitement, the pleasure-accented indulgences of earliest childhood come to life again. It follows from this reasoning that over and above all the manifestations of personal choice, especially as shown in efforts at avoiding annoying compulsion and restraint, the child must have experienced, in his earliest dealings with the sex-passion, feelings similar to those which make their appearance in the mature person under analogous conditions. The long-lasting influence of the sucking-habit upon sexual development is clear proof of this. It is in the indulgence of this habit, especially in the form of thumb-sucking, that infants find such passionate delight.³ Children given to the sucking-habit sometimes cultivate kissing,⁴ later, as a form of passionate enjoyment, and they may become heavy smokers; also, with baby girls in particular, there develops later a great fondness

² E. u. G. Scupin, *Bubis erste Kindheit, Tagebuch über die seel. Entwicklung eines Kindes*, I, p. 8 und p. 27.

³ To describe it the word "*Wonnesaugen*" has been used, a term indicating a state of bliss induced by sucking thumbs, fingers, etc. [Trans.]

⁴ Freud, *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*. Trans. No. 7, *Nerv. and Ment. Dis. Monograph Series*.

for nibbling sweets, a habit which dies out, or at least largely falls off, when normal sexual intercourse is taken up. It is a striking fact that in almost all languages a relation is recognized between sweetmeats and kissing, as is shown in the giving to the former of special names, such as: "Busserl," "baiser," "baciucchio" (a dainty common in the vicinity of Milan).⁵

To consider that this habit of pleasure-sucking, whether with reference to his own body or to foreign objects, counts only as a manifestation of an instinct to satisfy the sense of hunger—as so many investigators do—seems not to cover the ground. Also the argument that children immediately stop sucking when full-fed is overbalanced by the fact that even the satiated child⁶ sometimes sucks for hours on the rubber nipple and other contrivances of ingenious nurses, with contented expression of face, and begins to scream and cry the moment the "pacifier" (Schnuller) slips away from him. He is just as well satisfied if he can carry fingers or toes to his lips, although the feeling of hunger is not stilled thereby. It is through the activity of the erogenous zones—such as lips, fingers, toes—that the infant procures himself pleasure; and since in sucking upon his own body the child not only makes himself independent of the outside world, but also secures a reinforced stimulus of two-fold origin, his pleasure becomes redoubled. It is for this reason that children with these sucking tendencies cling so tenaciously to their habit.

Preyer⁷ has recorded the observation that by putting his finger into the mouth of a child whose head had just left the mother's womb, and rubbing the tongue rhythmically, he could excite unmistakable sucking-movements. In this so strongly developed sensitiveness to touch, the first beginnings of the sex-impulse may be assumed to find expression. In speaking of this experiment Preyer says that the child, to judge from the expression of his face, was most agreeably affected. This observation finds confirmation in the common use of a never-failing means of quieting the infant. Nursemaids know very well how their charge stops his apparently causeless crying if they stick a finger in his mouth and in that way

⁵ In English we have "molasses kisses," etc. [Trans.]

⁶ "At first we did not allow the boy to adopt the bad habit of sucking a 'pacifier'—instead of doing that, he was fond of sucking his fingers; indeed, he stuck his whole fist in his mouth, even after he had just been drinking (10th week)." Scupin, *Tagebuch*, I, p. 8.

⁷ Preyer, *Die Seele des Kindes*, IV Aufl., pp. 20 u. 65. Eng. trans., "The Mind of the Child."—[Ed.]

excite the nerves of lips and palate by tickling. This is simply a variation of a practice in vogue among unscrupulous nurses, who tickle the child directly on the genitals in order to keep him quiet or to put him to sleep. The Freudian School sees in this habit of finger-sucking (Ludeln) a very early manifestation of the sex-impulse, with reference to which the lips form an erotically marked zone. In the case of my own nephew I have observed repeatedly that as a result of sucking throughout the night his fingers carry, in the morning, the specific odor of the feminine genitals. Several mothers have reported to me analogous observations. This odor must come from the prolonged action (during several hours) of saliva upon the skin of the finger. It seems as if a pleasure derived from a sense of smell was included, in his case, in the pleasure produced by sucking. In fact, in his fourth year, when the attempt was made to keep him from this habit by calling attention to the bad odor of his finger, my nephew replied: "Oh, I like that smell!" Possibly this liking arises from memories of odors associated with the intra-uterine state. This conjecture stands in apparent contradiction to the view of many investigators who deny the infant an olfactory sense during the first days. The greater probability, I think, is in favor of the view that the child has no opportunity during those first days to experience, in its own form, this odor for which he shows such liking, but that something like it is produced, perhaps, by the admixture of saliva, milk, and skin odors. It is reasonable to suspect that the strong significance of the sense of smell in the sexual life of many persons is not to be referred solely to intense anal-erotism in childhood, but also in part to the habit of sucking. In favor of this suspicion the special liking of a great many persons for the Capryl group of chemical substances⁸ should be mentioned, since these compounds are chemically related to the secretions of the genital, but not directly to those of the anal zone. For such people the "Capryl group" constitutes a distinct and powerful stimulus of their libido. The frequent habit of very little children of pressing the face into the lap, or into the arm-pit, of an adult seems to be connected with this liking. The same sort of fondness is shown by young dogs and cats, and is not to be explained by the pleasant feeling of warmth, alone; for, in order to press the head into a person's arm-pit, the little animals often sacrifice a comfortable for an uncomfortable position.

⁸ Capryl group (Kaprylgruppe): Capryl, the radical C_8H_{17} occurring in caprylic acid and other compounds. Caprylic acid ($C_8H_{16}O_2$), a fatty acid with a faint, disagreeable odor, occurring in cow's butter and in cocoanut oil.

Even to the child in the cradle sucking offers an acceptable substitute for almost any pleasure which he desires but which he must renounce. Sucking is a dispenser of comfort in every despondent mood, just as in later years the joys of onanism are frequently sought in times of bitterness and humiliation. In his eighth month Scupin's Bubi used to compensate himself for not being allowed the mother's breast, by sucking the thumb of his left hand, though he continued to emit sounds of dissatisfaction through his nose; until at last, comforted, he would fall asleep. He would not let himself be robbed of this pleasure, and showed anger and opposition as soon as anyone tried to remove his thumb, red and swollen from sucking⁹ (ninth month). For the tenth month the report reads: "*Sucking the finger has finally taken the place of crying*, and is, therefore, a sign of hunger as well as of resignation. Now when an object is denied the child, when he should go to sleep, or the like, to comfort himself he sticks his finger into his mouth, and only peculiar sounds sent out through the nose declare his dissatisfaction, his indignation, his pain, in a way not to be misunderstood." And from the eleventh month, "Everything forbidden excites the youngster extraordinarily; his demand for knives, scissors, and table-utensils is very intense; and if all such things are taken from him, sometimes he puts on a touchingly resigned look and calmly sticks his left thumb into his mouth—that thumb which always shows some wounds from self-inflicted bites." The habit which is so extremely common among older children, of putting a finger in the mouth or of biting the nails at times of embarrassment, of shame, often of obstinacy, is to be regarded as a survival of previous finger-sucking; that is to say, even the temporary feeling of unpleasantness demands for its relief the tried and trusted method of excitation of the erogenous zones. It goes with the sexual character of sucking (*des Lutschens*) that, like the sexual act, it proves an effective means of inducing sleep.

In order to be able to suck her left thumb undisturbed, Shinn's¹⁰ niece, in the third month, preferred to be taken on her mother's right arm; and when so placed she would fall asleep, with every evidence of thorough satisfaction. "In the middle of this month she was given a small, closed rubber nipple, on which she then sucked as she had before on her fingers, and within eight days she

⁹ Scupin, *Tagebuch*, I, pp. 27, 29, 35, 42.

¹⁰ M. W. Shinn, *Körperliche u. geistige Entwicklung eines Kindes*, bearbeitet von W. Glabach und E. Weber, pp. 399, 401. This is probably the German rendering of "The Biography of a Baby."—Ed.

had learned to connect the thought of sucking after this fashion with that of falling asleep." In the sixth month, it was seen that the "pacifier" (Saugpropfen) *exerted a really hypnotic influence*. But since the child, as Shinn further records, did not like to go to sleep without the "pacifier," and also the moment it had slipped from her during the night would cry for hours at a time, the mother tried hard to break up this habit, but in vain. "The child must have found its continuance both agreeable and effective. *Perhaps certain particularly pleasant sensations were connected with it*. For twice in the last half of this month, when the rubber nipple was held up before her, she greeted it with sounds of joy and with springing movements of the hands and feet. I have observed the same thing in other babies when they were greeting their nursing-bottle." Shinn adds to this report the correct surmise that the pleasure did not have to do solely with a recognition of the use of these articles as possible sources of nourishment; but she does not carry out her idea any further.

From my observations in the case of my nephew, I can say that the whole expression of his face while he is sucking his fingers—a habit which he has practised intensively from the earliest time up to the present (his seventh year)—is, at first, distinctly that of sexual excitement; while a little later, as he gradually falls asleep, it changes to one of comfortable and sensuous relaxation. Toward the end of the first year, he combined sucking on the thumb and third finger of his left hand with simultaneous rhythmic pulling on the bedspread with the fingers of his right hand. I maintain that, with this child, these movements are a substitute for onanistic activity, since the boy, even in his first month, as soon as he was undressed, used to pull hard at his genital organ. The proposition that *infantile onanism* is of regular occurrence has been much disputed, but can scarcely be denied. With boys it often begins early, as a result of the measures taken in caring for the body, and as a consequence of the easy accessibility of the genitals to mechanical excitations; while with girls, on account of the more concealed location of the genitalia, masturbation takes place far less frequently during the period of early infancy. But with them, too, the signs of sexual excitement usually make their appearance, thanks to the senseless fashion of clothing infants prevalent at present. For instance, the so-called "Durchzug," a small linen cloth used for preventing soreness of the thighs, is well adapted to excite the highly erogenous genital zone; and pressing together the upper thighs is a

characteristic form of self-gratification to the little girl. But, since mothers and nurses naturally try hard to prevent onanistic acts on the part of the infant, the latter soon transfers the source of pleasure to a more easily reached and a more harmless zone, the mouth; and *takes up sucking as a substitute for the forbidden pleasure*. Hence, sucking stands not only as the earliest form of lip-erotism, but also an early act (*Leistung*) of intelligence on the part of the infant. One mother reported to me, in regard to her boy, that by the age of seven months he had tried again and again, with sly glances, to masturbate; and that as soon as this was prevented, with strong obstinacy he betook himself to finger-sucking. The all too anxious "breaking" of infant onanism—frequently accompanied by painful punishments (even blows)—may contribute much to the development of *fear* and may lead also to habits of *deceit* and of defiant *obstinacy*.

One of the direct outcomes of the measures used in the physical care of children is the awakening of the pleasure in being naked. Even though the change of temperature is felt as uncomfortable by the child, yet the relief from the cramping of tight clothes, which comes from being undressed, is so delightful that the other sensation is no longer noticed. It is certainly true that there is no time when a child feels so free to use his muscles as when he is naked; and the tickling contacts of the loosened clothing rubbing against the skin must help to induce the vigorous throwing about of the limbs which still further intensifies his pleasant sense of freedom. This is a sort of stimulus which is, moreover, apt to be increased through repetition, as the child's mother, with anxious solicitude, makes ever fresh attempts to keep him covered from the air. And with all this there come, of course, fresh chances for the child to show his new-found power of resistance to his mother's will by striving to prolong the conditions that he has found so full of pleasure.¹¹ I have often had occasion to observe with what slyness my nephew, in his eleventh month, fought to be naked and came off victor; how he would watch for the moments when his nurse or mother turned away, in order to shake off the hated coverlet, and to renew the pleasures of sucking his toes or biting any part of his body that he could reach.

Delight in the nakedness of one's own body is one of the first and most evident manifestations of the infantile auto-eroticism. From this source, reinforced by the erotic pleasure which the use

¹¹ Scupin, *Tagebuch*, I, p. 4.

of the eye brings to the child, arise the *exhibitionism-tendency* and the spying or *peeking-habit* (Schaulust) of later years. And it is also one of the roots of Narcissism¹² which frequently, even by the end of the first year, comes to light in open, undisguised form. The unfolding of these impulses is greatly furthered by the measures taken in training the child. The command to cease from uncovering himself is too often accompanied by a half-concealed smile on the part of the proud mother or by a spying on the part of other adults who may be present that gives them more gratification than they are quite aware of. There cannot but grow out of this a certain sort of excitement, which is capable of making its appeal even to the smallest child. In a similar way, the playing of a harmless game like hide-and-seek may induce pleasure-accented experiences which connect themselves with any part of the child's body. The following case, observed by me, is typical of many: A ten-months-old boy with whom his mother plays "peek-a-boo," throwing a cloth over her head every time, imitates his mother faithfully in lifting his little shirt high at every "Da Da" on her part, and he does this with joyful screams that are all the more joyful the more vehement is his mother's cry of "Shame! Shame!" If any doubt could be entertained as to the propriety of ascribing the chief interest in this game, for the child, to the (unconscious) longing to exhibit himself, this should be dispelled when it is known that ever since his birth the little boy in question has been the subject of constant admiration for the beauty of his body; and that even in his sixth month he showed a longing to lie naked before any guests that might call. Educational blunders of the sort indicated by this story are committed more frequently than one would believe possible; and the excuse of parents—that the child is not yet old enough to know better—has nothing more to say for itself in such a case as this than when used to justify any one of the many other careless sins of omission of adults in their treatment of young children.

In proportion as the child gains better control of his young limbs the pleasure in moving them grows greater. *A dawning consciousness of self and an increasing self-confidence*—the outgrowth of infantile auto-erotism—awakens with the first successful attempts at sitting, standing, creeping, running. In regard to this E. and G. Scupin,¹³ in the eleventh week of their child's life, make the following note: "For some days past the mother has been teaching the

¹² Love of self, in a physical and mental sense. [Trans.]

¹³ Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 8.

boy to sit up; it goes surprisingly well. These exercises obviously give the child pleasure, and he demands them often by crying and by attempts to raise himself." Again with reference to the sixth month:¹⁴ "A favorite new movement is rocking the upper part of the body; with a truly roguish face Bubi sits in his carriage, bends forward, strikes out with his feet, and springs backward. In this fashion he rocks back and forth untiringly with evident pleasure. One day, sitting on his mother's lap he stretched his little arms toward the metal handles of the carriage, seized them, and then by rocking the upper part of his body backward and forward (occasionally, too, by bending and stretching his little arms) he pushed the wagon to and fro, only helped thus far by his mother, that she yielded to every one of his movements. *While doing this he put on a laughably self-satisfied air, and an expression as of one expecting praise.* This was more marked than anyone would have believed possible. The consciousness of physical achievement, of having performed an act requiring muscular strength, gives just as much delight to the infant as it does to other children; and leads him to reject outside help at a very early age. He likes, however, to feel that adults are present, from whom help can be obtained whenever his own strength gives out, and who—this is the chief point—will pay him the deserved tribute of admiration. For that reason, the child who is tenderly cared for learns to use his muscles and his special senses much earlier and with less effort than does an infant entrusted to indifferent attendants.

The high degree of fascination which swinging and being rocked in a cradle possess for even the very youngest children is due to the induction of sexual excitement¹⁵ through rhythmic mechanical shaking of the body (Freud). The child finds the rocking-motion of his carriage so agreeable that he is often inspired by it to talk to himself, in baby fashion, while it is going on.¹⁶ Also, the infant's

¹⁴ Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 18.

¹⁵ It is, of course, a matter of opinion, and largely a question of classification, what degree of assent this proposition should command. The point to remember is that Freud's view was formed on the basis of a very large experience with nervous invalids whose illnesses were traceable in part to demands for excitement originating in accumulated infantile experiences. [Trans.]

¹⁶ C. and W. Stern, Monographien über die seel. Entwicklung des Kindes. I. Die Kindersprache, p. 82. "At three months of age, whenever Günther is taken out in his carriage he begins 'to tell little stories' even when the carriage-curtains are down. Therefore it is not the effect of the changing views, but it is the movement of the carriage which puts him in a happy frame of mind."

shouts upon being tossed in the air, and the pleasure which he finds in rolling from side to side¹⁷ demonstrate (if taken in connection with the moist brilliancy of his eyes and his flushed cheeks) the sexual undertone of his feelings. This explains the persistent fondness which boys and girls have for swinging of every kind, even if it be only a see-saw on the edge of a chair. One may also see how, on the other hand, many a child's dread and dislike of rhythmic motion in later years¹⁸ is probably to be traced back to an excess of indulgence in this sort of pleasure during early years; for fear is often—as disgust is always—the expression of a reaction against a former—now forbidden—sort and source of pleasure.

Most children show during the second half of their first year of life a striking fondness for fingering very small objects—hairs, crumbs, etc.—a liking such as can hardly be accounted for except on the supposition that their *sense of touch is very highly developed*. Taking hold of tiny objects—which grown persons can pick up only with difficulty—brings obvious pleasure to the infant. Thus¹⁹ Strümpell reports that his little eight-months-old daughter took special delight in picking up very small objects such as crumbs of bread, beads, and so forth; and little Scupin, too, so we are told,²⁰ used to expend a good deal of energy in pulling out single hairs from his parents' heads. "The objects which he took especial pleasure in handling, during his twelfth month, were very minute, being of no interest except from their diminutive size. In a complicated toy the parts that he cared most about were a screw, a knob, a tassel, a little bell; his interest in the carpet seemed to center on a crumb, in the table-cloth on a spot, in the wall-paper (Tapete) on a scarcely visible dot in the design. The great significance of the *nerves of the skin*, for the good health and well-being of the child, is also to be recognized from his behavior in the bath. The delight with which he doubles his little fists, the flourishing of the limbs, all give evidence of an instinctive tendency, observable not only with infants but also with older children and even among adults, to react with pleasure to strong stimulation of the skin. The mild warmth of a tepid bath, the slight resistance of the fluid, may awaken in the infant a dim memory of his life before birth; and this may be one cause that prompts him to assume the prenatal position, with legs drawn up high and arms flexed against the body.

¹⁷ See above, Shinn, pp. 307, 308.

¹⁸ As in car-sickness. [Trans.]

¹⁹ L. v. Strümpell, *Psychologische Pädagogik*, p. 359.

²⁰ Scupin, *Tagebuch*, I, p. 46.

Many children continue through years to show a preference for this position in sleep; and the pressing of the folded arms against the breast, such as one sees among children and even grown people when they are listening intently to stories which make them shudder with excitement, seems to me to be a survival from the prehistoric period of the child's life. In a way not to be disregarded or overlooked, the tendency on the part of the infant to have sensations of a sexual nature also manifests itself during the bath, as well as during other attentions found needful in the care of children. That boys, a few days old, show real erections at such times is a daily experience of midwives, and is boasted of to the young mother as a sign of potential virility. One little boy, only thirteen days old, was reported as having wet chin and mouth with a stream of urine; and another baby boy, while having his third bath, showed a strong erection accompanied by symbolic spreading of the fingers. The latter movement was indeed observed by Preyer as occurring by itself, and that, too, when the fingers were dry, so that the spreading could not have been caused by wetness.²¹ Preyer continues: "Even on the seventh day the expression of pleasure seen in his wide-open eyes immediately after the bath was quite different from what it had been before. *No other sense-impression (Eindruck) of any kind is able, at this period, to call forth such an expression of satisfaction.*"

The strong skin erotism of the infant also makes itself evident in his reaction to kisses. Such love-tokens bestowed upon every part of the body are acknowledged with shouts of laughter;²² but here, too, one becomes gradually aware of favorite zones—such as the neck, arms, legs. It is a striking fact that to kisses on the mouth very little children will respond with sucking-movements²³—later, with biting-movements, even when as yet there are no teeth; but such children exhibit no feeling of pleasure at these times. Quite often, after the first year, children refuse, for a time, to allow themselves to be kissed. Finally, and as affording further evidence of the existence and importance of this heightened skin-erotism, it is noteworthy that children often show a passive acquiescence, and even exhibit signs of pleasure, when kisses are replaced by gentle bitings. E. and G. Scupin record thus about their little boy in the sixth month: "He stuck his finger into his mother's laughing

²¹ Preyer, *loco citato*, p. 74.

²² Scupin, *Tagebuch*, I, pp. 20, 74, 106; Shinn, l. c., p. 206.

²³ In the active kiss Compayré sees a "ressouvenir" of the lip-movement when nursing at the mother's breast (l. c., p. 98).

mouth, whereupon she bit him. Astonished, Bubi raised his eyebrows and looked at her questioningly. When his mother bit once more, he crowed for joy but promptly drew back the little hand. After a short pause, again of his own accord, he stuck his fingers into mother's open mouth, and at the same time looked very expectant. She bit again, and immediately his unrestrained laughter sounded forth."

M. W. Shinn²⁴ is of the opinion that, to the little child, eating (*i. e.*, sucking), biting, and kissing, all have, at first, one and the same meaning.²⁵ Certainly not until later does the true, social significance of kissing become clear to him, although it is in the first year more especially that his experience in being kissed (by his mother) is so rich; he accepts kisses as an agreeable stimulation of the skin, but often refuses to give them in return. Shinn and Preyer report the same thing; while Scupin's little son,²⁶ even in the first month, reacted pleasurably to kisses, in particular to noisy kisses, *i. e.*, kisses with strong local skin excitation. Gentle biting and scratching produce in the very little child not only no pain, but actual pleasure; so that in skin- and muscle-erotism we must recognize one of the roots of *sado-masochism*²⁷—in particular, of the *auto-sado-masochism*, far more frequent in the child than in the adult. Tiedemann²⁸ regards the fact that, in the first months of life, his little son gave himself severe scratch-wounds and blows in the face, as a proof of inability at this stage to distinguish his own body from that of another person's. Preyer, too,²⁹ sees in the self-infliction of wounds in the case of very young children, simply a lack of independent and thorough self-perception (*des Ich-Gefühls*). To-day we know from certain reactions of the child that the inflicting as well as the passive experiencing of pain is—under certain conditions—felt by him as a source of sensuous pleasure. Through the union of sadistic and masochistic feelings within one's own body, the opportunity is given for experiencing enjoyment of a two-fold sort, since then the Ego is both subject and object at

²⁴ M. W. Shinn, *l. c.*, p. 345.

²⁵ Compare the popular sayings, "She is pretty enough to eat," "I could eat you, I love you so much."

²⁶ Scupin, *l. c.*, p. 20.

²⁷ "Sadism" = the inflicting of pain for purposes of sensuous gratification; "masochism" = the acceptance of pain with a similar end in view. [Trans.]

²⁸ D. Tiedemann, *Beobachtungen über die Entwicklung der Seelenfähigkeiten beim Kinde*, p. 10.

²⁹ Preyer, *l. c.*, pp. 381, 382.

the same time. This is probably the chief reason why the sadistic (pain-inflicting) activity of the child is directed in the earliest days toward his own person. The pleasure is further intensified through this—that the child takes care not to go, in his pain-infliction, beyond the point set by his power to recognize the pain as pleasure. To speak of another and analogous source of excitation, although the fashion of the present day as regards clothing secures for the infant plenty of chance to move freely, yet the daily wrapping in the bath-towel is an operation that allows for an abundance of agreeable stimulation for skin and muscles. And older children likewise manage through the use of closely fitting undergarments, shoes, and so forth, and by scratching, to provide chances for these stimulations of the skin. Among the auto-sadistic acts of the infant, scratching stands in the foreground as for a while the sole possibility of that sort that his muscular development permits. On the very first day after his birth, the Scupin boy's hands had to be bound up because he scratched his face, and even on that day he resisted the restraint by kicking.³⁰

The strong impression which the sight and touch of a brush made upon him in his eleventh month³¹ is, as I believe, to be classified as masochism. At least, I observed the same behavior in my nephew at the same age. With a roguish "Prick! Prick!" he tapped very gently on the rather coarse bristles. A ten-months-old little girl acted in the same way toward brushes. Since the child, at such an early age, makes no difference between "animate" and "inanimate," a brush may be assumed to appear to him like a human being by whom he allows himself to be pricked, in this instance, like his mother, to whom he holds out his little hand for the bite, given in fun. The slight pricking evidently causes, in addition to the pain, an agreeable tickling of the skin. There are not a few adults who, without being pronounced masochists, declare that they feel a moderate pain to be, in a sense, pleasant. Aside from the distinctly morbid forms under which masochism and sadism appear in later years, where sensuous pleasure is found in actually tormenting oneself or other people, the existence of these same tendencies is hinted at by various acts, among which I have indicated scratching as the most primitive. As soon as the child's teeth come, he knows how to use them vigorously against himself and against people near him. Thumb-sucking is often united with biting. Not until much later

³⁰ Scupin, l. c., p. 1.

³¹ Scupin, l. c., p. 40.

does the child make use of the strength of his arms to give blows, and that of his legs in kicking. Conjoined with the masochistic tendencies of the child there is found, even very early, a demand for sympathy; while, on the other hand, the child of sadistic tendencies shows a wish to be admired, even feared, for his strength. Indeed, mothers and nurses often take the lead in playing with the child a kind of game in which they pretend to feel pain whenever he beats and pulls them. In the sixth month the little Scupin baby clearly showed his sadistic vein; we read: "He strikes at his mother, clutches her nose with his little hands and pulls it." For the eighth month the report is: "His newest passion consists in trying to seize his parents' eyes; evidently it angers him every time they hide themselves behind the eye-lids at the approach of his merciless little hand." In the ninth month: "Without pity his hands scratch our faces so that we cry out with pain. Often during these acts *there comes a truly cruel gleam* in the boy's eyes, his nostrils inflate, and he goes on with the martyring process, such as pulling out single hairs, making grasping movements toward our eyes, pinching us, and scratching us. If someone puts out his tongue, the child claws savagely at it with his nails and screams for joy. His mother's finger learns, through painful experience during the daily cleansing of his mouth, how sharp his teeth are getting, for then he bites energetically with downright diabolical eagerness."³² These instances of unconscious cruelty in the child are sufficient to show how strongly this impulse demands an active outlet; how it turns toward the very persons for whom the child's affection is the warmest; and how, at length, upon the impulse becoming gratified, the child's features light up with animation and take on an expression that recalls that of the adult when under the influence of strong sexual excitement. And just as this excitement, with many adults, becomes intensified when the element of physical pain is superadded, so, too, in the case of the child, and not seldom, the necessity is felt of exhibiting the strength of his passionate desires through sadistic acts. For this statement also, a confirmatory passage is to be found, in the Scupin diary,³³ relating to the eleventh month of their son's life and telling of his first acquaintance with a little girl about six months older. While this little girl was looking at him indifferently, the boy's play of features showed extraordinary excitement—interest, surprise, joy, and a deep-seated curiosity. When

³² Scupin, Tagebuch, pp. 19, 30, 31.

³³ Scupin, Tagebuch, p. 44.

the little girl, upon seeing him, suddenly said "Dolly!" the very perception that she spoke excited him strongly. For very delight, or perhaps too, in order to imitate her, suddenly he sent forth a flood of indistinct syllables, became more and more excited, *and with a quick exulting cry struck her in the face. Manifestly that was meant to be a caress.* Then he managed in a rough way to snatch a biscuit out of her hands, and after that the doll. Yet it was all done in such a spirit of affectionate playfulness that one could not think of his acts as signifying rage or ugliness of temper. Again, the boy, "O," bit and scratched his nurse's breast until she cried out loudly from pain, whereupon he grew all the more excited. Indeed his finger-nails became very dangerous to the hair and faces of people around him.

I have come to the conclusion, through questioning a number of mothers, that in the first years of life it makes no difference—as regards the liability to sadistic and masochistic tendencies—whether the child is male or female. The concurrent testimony of many observers has established the fact that every sadistically inclined person is also a masochist, and vice versa. But as boys are more aggressive, in a general sense, than girls, with the former the sadistic tendency is pushed more into the foreground. Furthermore, by virtue of being looked on as in fact a masculine attribute, this tendency (which often takes the form of cruelty) is not so energetically repressed, by nurses and attendants, in the little boy as it is in the little girl. Forms of conduct that, in the case of the boy, are regarded as containing the germs of future strength and are rebuked with smiles, are considered, in the case of the little girl, as objectionable indications of an unwomanly character. In spite of his frequently cruel expressions of countenance when performing sadistic (*i. e.*, cruel) acts, the conscious perception of the cruel element in these acts, and therewith the conscious purpose of inflicting pain upon another person, is lacking in the child for a long time. This fact comes out in Scupin's diary,³⁴ in the following important note from the child's fifteenth month: "Often, because of having to sit still while being dressed or undressed, he kicks angrily or bites his mother in the arm or on the shoulder even through thick clothing and with such force as to cause her severe pain. Several times when his mother called out 'Ow!' *it pleased him so much that he bit himself hard in the arm* and then likewise said 'Ow!' And

³⁴ Scupin, Tagebuch, I, 62.

when he felt the painful effects of his bite on his own flesh, he made a very surprised face."^{34a}

It would seem that the choice of games by little children is determined to some extent by whether the sadistic or the masochistic tendency predominates. Every attentive observer is aware that even without the aid of adults, healthy children invent little games of one or another sort—and one of their roots lies in the awakening muscle-power which is striving for development. That conscious volition is an essential factor in these early efforts, as always in real play, can be recognized from the satisfied smile on the child's face after success—from the displeased expression that attends repeated failure. All the muscle-groups take more or less part in the activities of play, but more than all the rest those which are concerned in movements of touching and seizing. These movements are often continued until weariness ensues, and they excite in the child's consciousness feelings of pleasure or of pain; if such movements are in part purely instinctive, and arise from the unconscious impulse on the child's part to use the muscles, yet it must be recognized that they supply sources of stimulation which are of the utmost importance for the development of perception through the senses (*Sinnesempfindungen*). The playful turning of the head from side to side at the sound of a noise, whether it be the bells of the sledge or the voice of the mother who lures the first smile from the child by means of her "Peek-a-boo" ("Da-Da!"); the stretching and straining of the little fingers toward the fringes on the carriage-curtain;—all such movements and efforts provide the little human being endless delight and are happy play to him. And from play he gains his first experiences in regard to things in his environment; he learns to distinguish his little self from the outside world through the varieties of feelings, sometimes painful, which it brings to him. Slowly but inevitably are formed the concepts (*Begriffe*) of large and small, round and square, near and far. And all these new perceptions are accompanied by pleasure or by pain. The child remains indifferent to whatever does not affect him in one of these two modes of feeling; and in seeking to reproduce or to escape these feelings, as the case may be, he demands so frequent a repetition of the occurrences of daily life that at last almost any kind of a change in them, however slight, is felt at first as an impression, then as an experience. In the first period of life

^{34a} The mother of a certain little boy had to bite *him* to stop his biting other people. He never had known how it hurt to be bitten. [Trans.]

sense-impressions must have a certain intensity in order to be perceived at all; in short, they must be powerful enough to excite either pain or pleasure. But even to direct the attention toward something is a source of pleasure to the infant—a pleasure which, to be sure, dies out before long on account of his liability to grow weary.

The first place among all the sense-organs, as dispenser of pleasure, belongs to the *sense of taste*. That I have not spoken of it until now has been for this reason—because in the service of play it is not utilized until relatively late. For the habit of sucking, whether on one's own body or upon some foreign object, concerns far more the gratification of the erotic functions of the skin and mucous membrane than those of the sense of taste. This latter sense is drawn first into relation with play when it becomes conjoined definitely with the *sense of smell*. First to smell a flower and then to taste it (eat it) seems to the child the natural sequence of events, of course. But with the development of the sense of smell, the child's interest awakens in his own "defecation products." This is an interest which no child is without, and one which (as long as the particular child in question has not learned to feel disgust) not seldom becomes pronounced coprophilism (*Koprophilie*). Infants with this tendency instinctively like to choose their own time for having their bowel-movements, and show an astonishing cleverness in availing themselves of the very moment when nurse leaves the room, although before that they had let themselves be urged in vain to perform their task. No cross words, no punishments keep the little offender from soiling hands, face, and clothes in a play so full of pleasure; occasionally, too, it happens that he brings his soiled hands to his mouth and thus discovers a new taste that gives him a special sort of gratification which he signalizes by the movements of his lips. A little later it may happen, obviously as the result of a double impulse both to give up and to maintain his interest in these bowel-excretions, that a process of *shifting*, or *substitution*, takes place in the infant's mind; as the outcome of this process, he begins to decline certain dishes like green and brown vegetables, eggs, etc., which from their color and consistency remind one of feces—and he does this while still retaining his coprophilic habits.³⁵ Thus my little nephew, who became a pronounced coprophilist very early and remained such until the end of his third year, began suddenly even in his eleventh month to show a decided disgust at

³⁵ This sentence has been amplified somewhat, from the original, to make its obvious and important meaning clearer. [Trans.]

spinach and other dark-colored vegetables. It is a fair guess that his nurse-maid, who it is true had had much to endure in consequence of this tendency of her little charge, had punished him in the way employed when dogs and cats are "house-broken." At any rate the sudden change in the little fellow's food-preferences was decidedly suspicious, and the boy's comments at a later period strengthened this suspicion. Eggs, for example, which he ate during his first year with almost greedy pleasure—his gaze fastened intently on the egg-cup—he began all at once in his twelfth month to refuse. Little "O" behaved in exactly similar fashion in his third year.

In close connection, as a rule, with coprophilism, stand *anal* and *urethral erotism*.³⁶ The emotional interest thus designated does not take on, at first, the somewhat elaborate self-conscious form that it assumes later; but it appears, nevertheless, even in the first months of the infant's life, in the shape of a wilful holding back of the feces; while, on the other hand, definite indications of pleasure are often given when the evacuation does take place, but at the wrong time. It is also noteworthy that these signs of pleasure are altogether different from those that simply indicate the natural relief from tension that attends a bowel-movement; for in the latter case there is none of that mischievous expression on the infant's face, none of that glancing around to detect the reaction of the bystanders to what is going on, none of that behavior so characteristic of the former situation. Even the cry which summons nurse or mother sounds quite different when the excretory-act is performed at the proper time, as a normal phase of the digestive process, from what it does when the feces are purposely "held back" by the child. When this happens he does not break into the plaintive crying which betokens the wish for help out of an uncomfortable situation, but gives a cry as it were of victory, indicating at once joy and wilfulness, a cry that says: "See what I have succeeded in doing!" One might say that the thinking faculty (intellect) of the child was being considerably overestimated in attributing to him such complicated thought-processes; but that they actually occur, that the facts are as stated, is proved by the countless mischievous tricks, of even small children, along these lines. Thus my nephew, at the age of eleven months, knew well how to take advantage of his great-aunt in summoning attention to his bowel-needs by means of the call "Ah-ah!"; but as soon as she had made the necessary

³⁶ Sadger, Über Urethralerotik, Jahrb. f. psycho-an. Forschung. II. For abstract see p. 114.

preparations, he would run away into a distant corner of the room, and as he went he would give a teasing, merry "Na-na!" Such happenings are among the daily experiences in every nursery, and no observing mother mistakes the intention of the child thus to get the better of her. The mental powers of the infant, feeble though they are, are just strong enough to utilize all the various processes which go on within his little body as materials for pleasure and for play. The events that mark the taking and digesting of food, and the multiform operations incidental to the care of the body, provide abundant materials and chances for securing gratifications of these sorts, and the infant's absorption in them gives an adequate explanation for the indifference which he sometimes shows to impressions from the outside world.

II. THE FIRST SIGNS OF VOLITIONAL ACTIVITY

We have seen how strongly the psychic life of the infant is influenced by the functional activities of his little body, and how these processes are attended by a sense of pleasure or of discomfort, as the case may be. Having recognized this to be so, we cannot be surprised that the child seeks, consciously or unconsciously, to reproduce the experiences which brought him pleasure, and to ward off those which he felt as limiting or painful. These forms of reaction, instinctive and impulsive in the beginning, become the basis of volition, as soon as the growing intelligence learns to connect perceptions that are at first isolated with ideas having a conscious goal. The child responds to a stimulus not by "conscious will" but by action. To will means to act. While still without the power to make known his will in plastic speech, yet through screaming, crying, seizing, touching, and kicking he is able to give expression to his needs.

The first movements and actions which one sees the nursling perform (usually in the second quarter of his first year) with definite signs of thought may be regarded as the most primitive expressions of activity of the will. The movements which are most significant, as corresponding to this first stage in the development of "will," are those through which the child instinctively resists the measures that are used for the care of his body. The will of the infant is at first self-will, in the narrowest sense of the word. Whatever he is obliged to do or to refrain from doing, contrary to his desire, the young child feels as a disagreeable limitation of the freedom of his budding personality—a limitation calling for vig-

orous resistance. The first expressions of the infantile will take, then, the form of negation, of refusal to do the will of those around him. So true is this that even after the will has long since shown itself in a constructive form, the negatory tendency is retained as obstinacy, as defiance, even as an intentional working of harm to others.

These views, according to which the child's will is first manifested in the form of dumb opposition, afford also an explanation of the fact (confirmed by all students of child-life) that the first movements of the head which children make are those that are properly called head *shaking* rather than nodding; and that the word "No" is used before "Yes." For the child, "No" is, first of all, the expression of unwillingness; it is an unmistakable expression of voluntary choice, as is clearly shown by the general tendency to double the word ("No, no"). This protest of the infantile nature against every form of control is so powerful that, as an additional means of expressing opposition, gesture soon becomes supported by words. The importance of the rôle which thus falls to the resistance-tendency, in its effect upon the development of the child, is made clearly apparent by the study of children's dreams in which unfulfilled wishes of the day find fulfilment. A remnant of this tendency survives in the habit, obtaining among many adults, of always beginning a remark with "No."¹

Even in his first year of life the efforts which the child is forced to make in suppressing his own will are so prodigious that it is not to be wondered at that they give place, now and then, to temporary outbursts of passion. In other words, the restraints which the infant is compelled to put upon himself in submitting to the measures taken for the care of his body, especially when these seem to him unnecessary, induce a hampering sense of limitation and of strain, and a slight provocation is then enough to bring on outbreaks of rage before which the parents stand perplexed and helpless. If an affectionate compliance with the child's first voluntary impulses was more often substituted for an attempt to suppress them (which so frequently springs from purely egoistic motives) not only would the later training be made easier, but many a danger to the child's mental development would be deprived of seed and soil. It is an important matter for the building of character whether the will is felt as more or as less free. When mothers brought face to face with

¹ This is much more common in Germany than in English-speaking countries. [Trans.]

the unyielding obstinacy of a three, six, or ten-year-old child, whom they were unable either by severity or by kindness to master, finally excuse their failure by saying that he was just as wilful in the cradle, they not only give a correct statement of the facts, but likewise make the admission that at that period, when the child was scarcely a year old, the right way of education was missed, in favor of either ill-timed severity or excessive coddling.

The latter mistake is made mainly in the case of the first-born or of the only child, who then, as a result of the exaggerated solicitude with which he finds every demand fulfilled, soon learns to pose as a tyrant over the whole household. On the other hand, in families where there are many children, a lack of affection on the part of the parents is apt to be felt, especially by the late and unwelcome arrivals. This lack may not manifest itself through outward neglect but in less obvious ways, and yet may make a life-lasting impression on the child. Too often his voluntary efforts are nipped in the bud, or his manifestations of rage and obstinacy suppressed with too strong a hand, by his parents, unaware of the danger to which the development of the child's character and his future relation to themselves are thus subjected. The father who boasts that his child has been obstinate to him only a single time and, after having received punishment, has never again dared to oppose his will, fails to realize the fact that on that occasion he may have laid the foundation for a permanent estrangement between himself and his child.

Such an evaluation as this may be regarded as implying an overestimate of the infant's power of thought. But when one considers how distressing the memory of the first severe punishment must be, since the result is to make the child give up his will to that of the father; when one thinks how great a struggle and self-conquest it must cost the mite of humanity to subject himself unconditionally, and without a protest, to his father; then one cannot but recognize in such a piece of suppression—far transcending that which the child could accomplish spontaneously—the true cause of many a strange and deplorable fate. It is only when free activity of the will is allowed to the child, so far as the well-being of his body and soul (broadly interpreted) permits, that the conditions are created for a happy unfolding of the little creature's capacities.

In the nursery where love and understanding reign, simply to forbid is enough; and in the first year of the child's life, this should be limited to matters of purely bodily concern. The hard words

"You must" should remain unknown to the child as long as is practicable. Fortunately, in respect to the very little child, nature has set a limit to the effect of this command, in leaving him incapable of understanding its full meaning and with a physical inability to fulfil it.

Ambition, educationally one of the most important impulses, acts as a powerful stimulus to the will, even in earliest childhood. It is not solely the pleasure in muscular activity that causes the infant to strive so tirelessly to stand, to creep and walk; another spur to his efforts is the longing to be admired, to win the attention of his environment. How impressive are the eager efforts with which the child raises himself to his full height on his nurse's arm! How proudly and with what elation does he accept recognition and praise of his strength! Is it not obvious that a half-conscious purpose enters into his attempts to reproduce the situations through which his vanity is flattered? It is just to that end that he performs before his little public and apportions his love-favors and bestows the tokens of his affection according to the degree of admiration paid him.

The following experience is typical. It is about a little peasant girl of ten months, with whom an elderly lady spending a holiday in the country is ready enough to occupy and thereby to amuse herself. The child first lifts her arms to attract attention, then creeps nearer and strives with never-wearying persistence to raise herself erect, in response to the lady's admiring challenge, "Ella is as tall as this—as this," indicating the point with one hand. Thus the baby makes her first independent efforts at walking, reinforcing them by constantly demanding the lady's praise by casting inquiring glances in her direction.

Occurrences of this sort, which may be seen daily in homes where careful attention is given to the development of the children, deserve especial mention because such acts show how instinctively the love of admiration is rooted in the child's mind, even when the mother's solicitude has been confined to what is essential in meeting the child's bodily needs. The retarded development of powers of mind and body in the case of children who lack loving and intelligent care during the first months of life, is to be attributed to a late awakening of ambition.

The opportunities for progress through imitation open a broad field for activity to the child's will; but real success on these lines demands such a high degree of intelligence that I shall defer further

consideration of this matter to the chapter devoted to the development of the intellect.

III. THE FIRST SIGNS OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTELLECT

The eye, "the mirror of the soul," makes it possible for the attentive observer of that marvel of creation, the newborn child, to recognize the first slight stirrings of the infantile intellect (*Verstand*). These stand in the service of those primitive impulses of the human soul, hunger and love, taken in the broadest sense. Just as hunger (demand) for food and air awakens in the child the first associative reactions, so does the need of affection, and its satisfaction through the mother, awaken the beginnings of recognition. Joyfully the infant follows the mother's preparations to nurse him; and his power of making fine distinctions is shown by the fact that the same service by another person leaves him indifferent. Before long he knows the place which the mother takes when she offers him the breast. In the same way the artificially nourished child fastens his gaze upon the bottle as soon as it is filled with milk. That the child becomes excited at the sight of the breast or of the bottle is proof that an associative process comes into play. Tiedemann reports¹ that his little son, at the age of two months, stopped crying as soon as he was placed in the position for nursing and his face was touched by a soft hand. The fact that here the child was governed by an associative process of elementary form was shown by his feeling after the breast. Observations by both Shinn and Scupin agree in the account that they give of this early associative thought-process.

Since for the child the evacuation of the bowels is just as pleasantly emphasized as is the taking in of nourishment, one must conclude that the former process is present to his mind as a matter of real interest; and indeed it is evident that thought-associations connected with both processes are present very early in life. Thus, my nephew, at the age of eleven months, to the great amusement of the company at table, when he saw a white soup-tureen, the two handles of which he failed to notice, evidently remembering the night-vessel upon which he was accustomed to relieve his need, called out joyfully "Ah-ah!" A little girl of seven months, who, on account of constipation, was frequently given an enema, came to associate this process very closely with a certain folded piece of

¹ D. Tiedemann, *Beobachtungen über die Entwicklung der Seelenfähigkeiten beim Kinde*, p. 9.

Mosette-batiste (Mosettig-Batist), so that the sight of it always brought on a severe fit of screaming and crying.

These early thought-associations (Begriffsverknüpfungen), connected with the taking of nourishment and the movements of the bowels, make such a lasting impression by virtue of the emotional tone by which they are so strongly marked, that even when apparently forgotten they retain their place in the unconscious mind; and with the growing child they are likely to find an outlet in the seemingly unmotivated outbursts of laughter for which school children are so often reprimanded, as if for intentional disturbances of order.

The desire for light and air also gives ample opportunity for definite associations, such as Preyer, Shinn, and Scupin cite in great number. The pleasurable satisfaction of this demand, this hunger, is expressed in shouts of joy when the child is carried to the sunny window, or as soon as he sees preparations being made for going out of doors.

The routine of daily life, the frequent repetition of definite acts at the same hour of the day, prepare the way slowly for the formation in the mind of the idea of "time"; and this takes place long before the adult would suppose an accurate conception to be possible. In his eleventh month my nephew connected quite correctly, after a week's experience, his leaving the garden at nine o'clock in the morning with the meal that immediately followed, namely, with an egg; so that as soon as that hour arrived and he was placed in his carriage, he cried out delightedly, "Ei-Ei (egg-egg)!" In the afternoon, on the contrary, at the sight of his little cap, he called out "Bah-Bah!" When his mother, in order to test his power of making the correct distinction, offered him an egg one afternoon, the child rejected the offer, just as he had turned away in the morning from a proposed ride (Bah-Bah!). That the feeling of being satiated had not influenced his refusal is shown by the fact that he was accustomed to have a certain quantity of milk given him before going out to ride.

As a second source of infantile mental activity (Geistestätigkeit) I have indicated "love." It is a well-known and obvious fact that the person whom the child first learns consciously to recognize is the one who is occupied most intensively with his care, the one who is concerned daily and hourly in providing for his needs. He recognizes such a person from certain distinguishing signs which through frequent repetition have made an impression on his mind.

This act of recognition is shown, for example, in his smiling pleasantly on his mother, or exclaiming with joy at the sound of her voice in another room.

The love-plays which mother and child invent create for the latter a series of thought-associations of the greatest significance for later childhood. Indeed, they are of significance for the whole of life, since, as unconscious memories, they help to mould the love-life of the adult, and serve as one of the main sources of origin of that whole group of habits (*Lebensgewohnheiten*) which differentiate the individual from the genus. The helplessness of the mite-of-humanity is the condition which accounts for his exceptional position (in the family). And before long he makes use of his advantage; for he has enormous need of love. Very soon he learns that screaming and crying bring an end to the tedium of loneliness. And he employs these means not solely when physical discomfort suggests the need of an affectionate attendant, but as an artifice through which he may secure the companionship which he desires. The first definite signs of his being attracted toward other people come into existence along the path of his intellectual development. Indeed that is the *conditio sine qua non* for it. This statement is not out of harmony with the proposition just now advanced, that love is one source of certain sorts of mental processes. Intellect and feeling stand in such close relationship to each other in the very little child, that with him each new acquisition in the one realm brings a gain in the other. The more rapidly the intellectual powers unfold, the more intensively does the life of feeling (*Gefühlsleben*) begin to stir within the child—a mode of progress in development (*Entwicklungsgang*) to which pedagogy does not always turn proper attention. Side by side with feelings of sympathy in the child, feelings of antipathy likewise become manifest. They also prove themselves to be the outflow of the need of love; for they are directed primarily toward people from the hands of whom the child has experienced pain, has met with a refusal of the love demanded—love taken in its fullest meaning. For example, the unpleasant experience of vaccination sometimes causes the child not only to dislike the doctor who vaccinates him, but other persons instinctively associated with him, through being of similar appearance. I have known a little girl of ten months, who had been vaccinated two months before by a doctor wearing a handsome full black beard, to run away screaming from her own dark-bearded father on his entering the room after a considerable absence. My

own nephew shows an aversion toward men with black beards, which seems to lead back to a similar experience and which has lasted up to his fifth year. The emotional character of the original experience was so strong that it produced illusions of recognition. The antipathy of many children toward cats seems likewise to depend upon associations formed in very earliest childhood. My sister transferred to cats her antipathy toward a doctor who, in her tenth month, came, dressed in dark furs, and examined her throat by the finger. Even when four years old she burst into loud screaming at the unexpected sight of a cat. The doctor's gait, a gliding one, intensified this association.

The power to "recognize" is materially aided by another instinct of importance for education, namely, curiosity. The small child wishes to see everything and hear everything. As soon as the first fear at the sight of something which is new has been overcome, the child finds pleasure in using all his senses in studying it. This curiosity directs itself, in the natural course of events, to all the measures which are adopted for the care of the child's body, those, especially, which are associated in his mind with anticipation of a pleasurable sort; hence, for example, the intent listening whenever the bath-tub is filled or emptied, an event which clearly carries an undertone of sexual interest. Shinn, Scupin and Preyer all tell of the marked pleasure which the gurgling of the bath-water gave to the children under their observation. When one considers that this form of interest occurs just at the time of the early training (*Dressur*) having relation to bodily needs and habits, the enjoyment is adequately explained. The great importance which parents and nurses attach to the excretory act does not remain unnoticed by the child, largely because while that is taking place he quite often earns words of praise to which his vanity is by no means insensible. But since the act in itself is without meaning for the child, and remains removed, to a considerable extent, from perception through his senses, his curiosity turns naturally to the results of the act. The surprise and self-satisfaction expressed in his face on first beholding his own "defecation products" makes it easy to suppose that the first idea of an independent creative power now dawns within the child's mind.

One of the very foundation-pillars of early education, indeed of the all-around psychic development of the child, is the impulse to imitate. It is difficult to say when this first appears. Beyond doubt imitative acts have been observed as early as in the infant's

seventh month. They presuppose acts of will and of comprehension (*Verstandesakte*). It is these that lead the child to make those comical gestures which impress the onlooker as so irresistibly amusing, because there comes to light in them the contrast between the adult act, performed consciously and with a knowledge of the goal sought, and the seemingly purposeless acts of childhood. We see unrolled before us, as it were, in its full ludicrousness, the incongruity between the manifestations of mature understanding and the activity of the infant, which is characterized by ceaseless and automatic repetition. I have not been able to persuade myself that the young child is conscious of the comicalness of this situation, as some authors maintain. The child who, when scarcely a year old, puts on his father's hat, does this with the utmost seriousness; and it is with the same seriousness that he distorts his face in front of the mirror into laughable grimaces, in imitation of his elders. As soon as he begins to laugh, even the interest in the imitation becomes lost, in great measure. The more exact the imitation, the more it becomes a serious occupation for the child. This is the first form of the infantile wish to be "big," to be "grown up," of which I will speak later in another connection. This imitation impulse is of the greatest importance for the intellectual development of the child. Without that it would be impossible to teach him to speak; and by means of it we are able to direct the child's attention to the manifold events of daily occurrence. He learns to imitate the noise of running water, the whistling of the wind, and a hundred other sounds. Through the same means he learns to use his toys in the right way, and also to keep himself from injuries of various sorts.² Nor does the affective life remain entirely uninfluenced by this imitation instinct. During early life expressions of apparent sympathy with other people, taking the form of laughing or crying with them, are simply acts of imitation. And such manifestations first become "emotionally-toned," in a pleasurable or unpleasurable sense, through the associations which the child has formed in other ways. This principle is illustrated still more clearly in later childhood by the infectious laughter of whole classes at school.

The early imitative attempts at speech (*Lallversuche*) are to be regarded as one of the earliest achievements of the infantile intellect, except in so far as these attempts are solely the expressions

² A child (known to the translator), nearly four years old, burned her face with her own play flat-iron which she heated on the stove and tested against her skin, as she had seen her grandmother do.

of pleasure, as Stern³ found them to be in the case of his little son, Günther, when taken out to drive, in his fourth month. As soon as it is shown to be the manifest wish of the child to make himself intelligible to his environment by means of simple sounds or syllables, or to imitate anything spoken to him, there is present for us an effort of the infantile intelligence. The careful consideration of this point leads on to one of the most important chapters in our further study of the child's mental development, that which concerns itself with the development of speech.

IV. THE BEGINNINGS OF SPEECH

So many excellent publications are already in existence which occupy themselves with the speech of childhood that I shall attempt to throw light upon the subject only where supplementation of some special sort is needed. In none of these works is there to be found even a hint of the tendency, on the part of early word-formations, to connect themselves with the physiological arrangements, and the organs that serve them, which are just as needful for the further well-being of the body as are those that are concerned with the taking in of nourishment. Stern writes,¹ indeed, as follows: "The child selects his environment and his interests from the childish point of view (*pädozentrisch*) . . .," and again: "The fact that Hilda, in designating her activities (giving names to acts), also proceeds *pädocentrisch*, is shown in her naming first of all only such acts as she herself performs and likes to perform." Yet, in spite of this, neither in the works of Stern, nor in those of other investigators of child life are there to be found any comments to indicate that sounds or syllables are chosen with reference to the processes above mentioned. But since we have no reason to assume that these processes were unattended by feelings of pleasure to the children under observation, and therefore failed to excite their interest; and since there is just as little ground for believing that the training to which they were of necessity subjected was effected without the use of words, the only explanation of the apparent abnormality of those children is that all objectionable expressions were carefully struck out—not, indeed, from the child's speech, but from the scientific studies based on the observation of it. For how different from these descriptions is the reality of the nursery! My nephew's stock of words, in his twelfth month, com-

³ C. u. W. Stern, *Die Kindersprache*, p. 82.

¹ C. u. W. Stern, *l. c.*, pp. 179, 180.

prised four syllables, "Ei (egg)"—"Ah-ah!"—"Bah-bah!"—"Na-na!"—which corresponded to the chief interests of his young existence; namely, to eating, digesting, sleeping and going out of doors, and to making known his will. Why, indeed, should the little child, who cannot be assumed to be governed by esthetic principles, allow of his own will those visible signs of the nutrition process (Stoffwechsels) to go unnoticed, those processes which from the earliest days have been the cause to him of pleasure or pain, praise or blame, according to his success and prompt compliance in relation to them? The Scupins alone record in their diary, in regard to their little son, that from the very beginning he exhibited a lively interest in all the functions of his body. In showing this interest the little fellow certainly did not differ from all children who have been studied in the past and will be studied in the future. To every child the act of attending to his own natural needs brings satisfaction; and not only is this true of the act itself, but the products of the act are likewise a source of pleasure. Whatever occupies the child's thoughts intensively and enduringly, for that he seeks a name; and that name, of course, is never missing in any nursery. Perhaps the largest or earliest acquired part of the very little child's store of sounds and words is that group which springs from anal—and urethral—erotism. For spontaneous lalling (*lallen*, i. e., repetition of apparently meaningless sounds), and the earliest attempts at speech represent primarily the activity of the infantile will in the interests of pain and pleasure; and these expressions of feeling, in their turn, are connected, to a large extent, with the process of digestion, are bound up with it, as it were. Of course the supreme importance of the second root of speech development, imitation, should not be overlooked in this connection. But here again, at this period of life, the need mainly at stake is that of providing bodily functions with names.

In addition to this rudimentary speech (*das Lallen*) there comes the entire scale of tones of tenderness with which every mother loves to give her child pleasure, to sooth him and to put him to sleep, tones which perhaps she unconsciously draws from vestiges of memories of her own primordial period of existence. Devoid of definite meaning as these tones apparently are, they form a language full of love and logic, a language which constitutes a true bond between mother and child. Perchance there lies a profound significance in the faltering speech of the boy, who whenever he was unhappy called for "Ma-ma," and whenever he was in a cheerful state of

mind summoned "Da-da." In every time of woe it is, indeed, the mother who first hastens to her child, comforts him and helps him out of trouble, while the father (in the first infant "Lallen" often called "Da-da"), for the most part, frolics with the child and therefore represents for him the mood of active cheerfulness. The fact that children frequently hold fast so long to their first-year baby talk, and, furthermore, that it tends to return in adult life in moments when affection is felt at its highest, gives evidence of the need of love—love as conceived in the very earliest childhood—a need then poorly expressed in words but shown by means of gestures and seemingly senseless sounds. The further fact—really undeniable—that every experience which makes an impression upon the child in a sensual or erotic sense also contributes to the enlargement of his vocabulary, is unfortunately thrust aside as unimportant.

A special significance belongs to the child's monologues, and to his echo-speech (*Echolalie*). The former, appearing as they do, linked with definite situations, clearly show their relationship to the emotional life (*Gefühlsleben*). Monologues are indulged in by almost all children while they are being gently rocked in the carriage, or else during swinging-movements on the arm of the mother. They have also been observed as expressions of anger and disappointment. In such cases the monologue is a substitute to the child for the expressions of love which were denied him, contrary to his expectation—the principle being the same with relation to that of the sucking-habit, as above noted; the activity of the muscles gives him so much pleasure that he soon forgets the thing he originally desired, or, in other words, he abandons it. For my little nephew, during the period between his seventh and thirteenth month, certain combinations of syllables, unwearyingly repeated (*ä bä bä—bä bä rrr*), formed a sort of defense-reaction (*Abwehrreaktion*) against the pressure brought on him to cease onanistic acts. Sully fittingly characterizes the strongly accentuated feeling (*Gefühlsbetonung*), or emotional tone, associated with lalling: "The child hears the self-produced sounds and they please him."² From that moment the child continues the lalling for the pleasure which it gives him. The germ of such a pleasure-seeking "Lallen" consists in repetition of the same sound. The child thus shows that he has arrived at the stage of echo-speech in which, in addition to muscle-movements experienced as agreeable through their frequent

² J. Sully, *Untersuchungen über die Kindheit*; deutsch v. Stimpfl, p. 113.

repetition, a new pleasure-producing stimulus is found in the rhythm. At the same time the imitation-instinct is given an opportunity to show itself. Together with these early speech acquisitions, undisguised tendencies to Narcissism of an infantile form are clearly and vividly apparent. A little peasant child, Ella, who, in her tenth month, was first stimulated to attempts at lalling, through the well-meant attentions on the part of an elderly lady, repeated the imitated syllables not only indefatigably, but with signs of pride and satisfaction. The Scupin records contain similar statements about the impression made by the echo-speech of their child upon himself. The "arch smile" before the attempt, "the comically important mien" during the same, prove beyond doubt how intensively the affective life is influenced by early intellectual performances of this sort.³

V. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHICAL FEELINGS

Long before it is possible for the infant to express his emotional life in speech, gesture and mimicry betray to us the awakening of feeling. In this way, quite early, the child is able to express his likes and his dislikes. Just on account of his inability to communicate his thought in definite form, at this stage of life, we are often left entirely in the dark as to why the child feels himself drawn toward one person, while another excites in him a feeling of antipathy. The deepest and most important reason for this probably lies in an unconscious comparison which he is impelled to institute between each new person and *that first person*—the mother, as a rule—who took care of him in infancy. He seeks in them the same sorts of devoted service, the same voice, stature, even the same movements that he had learned to associate with her; and the impression of strangeness that forces itself upon him in the presence of persons previously unknown inclines him to regard them as something not only new but hostile (Neomismus). Freud has shown, also, that the habitual choice of an object of special love, on the part of a man, is determined by the fact of his childish affection for his mother, by her personal characteristics; and the same principle holds good, in the woman's love-life, with respect to the person of her father. The peculiar place of father and mother in the inner emotional life of the child is conditioned by the circumstances of the family life. The explanation of the striking fact that even in children who have passed their earliest childhood far

³ Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 33.

away from the parents, there often develops a passionate love for one or the other of them, is of a twofold sort. In the first place, the infant never receives from stranger-attendants such a large measure of affection as from his own parents, and so never as much of it, when they are absent, as his own need of love would prompt him to desire. Furthermore, the growing child feels this lack, doubly if he sees other children of his own age unfolding and blossoming in the love-warmth of their own family circles. There is no contradiction, in principle, between the picture here given—that represents the child's first impulses of affection as turning toward his parents—and the Freudian conception according to which the period of infancy is one of pure auto-erotism. For to the child his own personality is the central point about which there revolves everything that happens, everything that is experienced, everything that is felt; and therefore, naturally, he directs his young love to those persons who from the beginning devote themselves to his care. The selection of a love-object is effected without detriment to his conception of the world as centering on him; indeed, it is a result of this conception. But whenever the child is given less love than his needs require, he tends instinctively to seek compensation by turning his thoughts toward himself. The egocentric tendency of the affective and the intellectual life (*Gefühls-und-Geisteslebens*) of the infant is deepened through the over-measure of parental affection, and this egocentric impress frequently appears, even in the second half of the first year, as obvious jealousy. At eight months of age Tiedemann's little son fell into a state of highest excitement when his mother, for a joke, placed a strange child at her breast.¹ At this stage of life the child feels himself already so closely (intimately) connected with the mother who serves as his source of nourishment, and yet more of pleasure, that he will not relinquish possession of her. Perhaps it is in this relationship that the first mental grasp of the idea of personal property (mine and thine) takes its root. This idea is effectively intensified by the question so often heard, "To whom then do you belong? (Whose baby are you?)" Whatever the child feels as his very own, that he will not give up without strong resistance. But, above all, he will not voluntarily give up his mother's care and love. With this feeling as the starting point, all the little tricks are planned by means of which even the nursling seeks to tyrannize over his mother and lead her to relegate her other household inter-

¹ Tiedemann, l. c., p. 24.

ests to a secondary place. He understands how to find himself obliged to relieve his bodily needs while the grown folks are at meals because people are not paying him particular attention just then, and he wishes to compel it; also he knows how to call his mother to him, by crying hard, as soon as she has gone to rest at night. In all these performances there speaks out clearly the infant's strong craving for demonstrations of affection, and likewise his unwillingness to allow his mother to occupy herself with other matters, instead of devoting herself to him with her entire heart. Even the most unsophisticated mothers understand this perfectly well, as is shown by their frequent complaints: "The moment I go out of the room the little rascal cries."

Not only jealousy, but also anger springs from the child's unsatisfied demand for affectionate attention. Since he is unable to perceive the reason why these attentions which he craves should not be always rendered, any failure to render them implies for him a lack of wish to do so; and to him his outbursts of rage are at the same time a pleasurable exercise of his muscle-power. This is shown by the fact that even after the circumstances productive of the anger have long since passed away, the infant may still continue to rage and kick, until physical exhaustion sets in. Then, too, making the body rigid—which is practised as early as in the tenth month—is an expression of angry obstinacy, as well as of strong muscle-erotism (*Muskel-erotik*). The Scupins report about their little son, then in his seventh month, as follows:² "The child falls into a similar rage if it is decided to place him in his carriage when he wishes to be carried in arms. His whole head grows red from anger; he gives a hoarse cry and makes his little body stubbornly stiff, so that it becomes an actual impossibility to set him down. And when, yielding to this energetic manifestation of his will, the mother was several times moved to let the boy have his own way, and stretch himself out if he liked, it became quickly evident that he had taken in the full bearing of his act; for we observed later that when a strong desire for something came over him, he would suddenly make his body stiff and throw himself backward in a wilful fashion, as if giving a sign from which he expected a definite result to follow. Even in the sixth month he practised this same manœuvre of making the body stiff whenever he became tired of being alone and discovered that he was not receiving the un-

² Scupin, *Tagebuch*, I, p. 21.

divided attention of those about him. The parents' report³ relating to this period describes how the expression of the boy's face clearly revealed the changing feelings, as of anger, obstinacy, fear, mischievousness (Mutwille), or disappointment, as the case might be, by which he was controlled. The interpretation here given of these movements—*i. e.*, the recognition of them as signs of (unconscious) thinking on the infant's part—contradict's the conception of Preyer, who does not look on them as indications of genuine mental activity, although he does consider them as signs of opposition against being compelled to lie down (Mittel gegen gewaltsames Hinlegen).

When we think of the various ways in which the nursling sues for demonstrations of affection, methods adopted as if consequentially, with that end in view; when we realize how this craving takes on the form, now of tenderness, now of jealousy, now of anger, or again of subtlety (List); and how in moments of wilfulness the unappeased love-craving is likely to fall back, in its search for an outlet, upon some form of erotic satisfaction; then the great importance of the parents' obligations—particularly those of the mother toward her child—becomes clearly manifest. The proper fulfilment of these obligations provides the foundation for the character-development of later years. When love has not been manifested adequately in earliest childhood, the feeling of love often remains deficient throughout adolescence and adult life, together with an enduring longing for this feeling. Every loving glance, every gentle touch which falls to the share of the infant leaves its traces in the memory, in the form of an impression; and all these agreeable impressions weave themselves into a bright background against which the light and dark tones of later life stand out in relief. Even if the adult has no distinct memory of those first months, it is certain, nevertheless, that they have exerted their influence upon his mental development. The impressions then made continue to live, and send out delicate tendrils into dreams of later life, filling them full of earliest childhood-wishes—those dreams which seem to the laity altogether inexplicable and absurd. In his work entitled "The Language of Dreams," Wilhelm Stekel has pointed out how the so-called "nurse-dreams" reach back even into the first year of life. I can confirm this from my own experience. I used to have a very distressing dream which recurred again and again up to within a brief period. It was a dream which appeared

³ Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 18.

to contradict the Freudian conception that a wish-fulfilment lies at the foundation of every dream. I dreamed, namely, that—now in a park, now in a living room—I had to take charge of a young girl who was suffering from nervous cramps. She tried to cling to me in the most obtrusive manner. The strong excitement which I felt on waking, combined with a depression lasting several hours (as a result of the retained dream-picture of the child's distorted features), seemed entirely to refute the idea of a "dream-wish-fulfilment"; but a thorough self-analysis brought out that the picture of the child was really a picture of myself. As a child of from two to four months, I had suffered from severe convulsions (*Fraisenanfällen*) as a result of which I screamed without cessation, and therefore was constantly carried around on some one's arm. The surmise is admissible that those attacks were of hysterical nature, either wholly or in part. Through many years, one symptom of such attacks kept fast hold upon me, namely a nervous headache during which I used to roll up the pillow so that my head hung over it, in exactly the same way as in former days when, according to my parents' statement, I used to cry so hard and let my head hang down backward over the nurse's arm. Through this dream my subconscious self sought to be transported to the first weeks of childhood, in the wish to obtain for myself manifestations of affection such as it rarely falls to one's lot to experience, except in days of severe illness, especially in childhood. Since tracing this dream to its infantile root, my night's rest is no longer disturbed—a clear proof of the correctness of the interpretation.

Inasmuch as the helplessness of the child in the cradle always makes each new arrival the center of the family, the position of being an "only child" (a position which becomes so important in the years that follow) plays no pronounced rôle in infancy. The mental development of twin children, on the other hand, exhibits special tendencies which become evident at the very dawn of the mental life and impart an influence which makes itself felt throughout all later years. To the attentive observer, the distinguishing signs of this developmental tendency become manifest as early as about the middle of the second half-year. The most important of these signs, at this time, are outbreaks of trouble based on feelings of jealousy. The operations of nursing and bathing afford to one or the other of the little aspirants for success ample opportunity to protest vigorously against the showing of preference for his mate—the twin-brother or twin-sister—and bring to naught any

apparent tendency to give the precedence. Thus I know of two boys of whom the one always had to be carried out of the room while the other was being bathed, since he regarded the care bestowed on his brother as a slight offered to himself. The same boy would not suffer his mother to offer his brother the breast before he himself had received his own portion from his wet-nurse. Possibly he began, after a little time, to look on the fact of not being nursed actually by his mother as in itself a sign of lack of love, since in other respects she bestowed just the same attentions upon both children. With the other boy there developed toward his brother a pure attraction, free from all jealousy—an attachment which made even a temporary separation of the children impossible. On the whole, the two boys—now seven years old—have retained the same fundamental traits of character that they showed at first; the one little fellow shows an appealing (?) affectionateness, conjoined with a tendency to dependence, while the fondness exhibited by the other is darkened by ever-increasing jealousy. In a similar way, for the most part, the psychic development of female twins is affected.

Twins of different sex behave quite differently from this. With them a pronounced erotic relationship comes into the foreground as early as in the last months of the first year of life. I heard one mother of two such children designate their relationship as a state of being "actually in love" (*geradezu verliebt*). She had nursed both children herself. At the time when she began to substitute mixed food for an exclusive milk-diet, the boy was never weary of giving his little sister something from each dish before he ate of it himself. One child would not let himself be taken out for a ride without the other child. From the tenth to the eleventh month the boy's love had already put on the character of active admiration, and the girl's affection had taken a submissive attitude—traits which later became considerably strengthened and which soon caused the twins to go on record as "a pair of lovers."

It would be of great value for the better understanding and management of twins, in later years, to have a written record of their early, childhood history to refer to. Such a history would throw much light on the tendency of such persons to show a one-sidedness in their development, a persistent need of having some one to depend on, a shyness and diffidence in temperament, and, finally, on their lack of freedom where it is a question of the bestowal of love, on their part.

One of the earliest, purely egoistic emotions (*Gemütsbewe-*

gungen) of the child is fear. It is born of intelligence conjoined with imagination (*Phantasie*). If the former confines itself, with the infant, to the most primitive association-processes, and if the work of the imagination is scarcely perceptible to the onlookers because of the lack of a word-language, nevertheless there must be present in his consciousness, idea-associations and at least some faintest trace of feeling-perceptions (*Vorstellungen*), before he can have a sense of fear. It is striking that everything new seems to excite unpleasant feelings in the infant's mind, feelings which express an instinctive apprehension (*Ahnung*) of possible evil. Next to the fear of novelty (*Neophobie*), it is fear of the dark that is especially characteristic of the child. But this fear hardly (*noch selten*) appears in the first year; although it is just at this age that—in consequence of the widespread custom of allowing the infant to share the sleeping-room of his parents—the foundation for the fear is laid. This is something which I will discuss later in detail. Still earlier than the fear of the dark appears the fear of being punished; it lies at the root of the sense of guilt which is so common, and sets in in conjunction with the power of memory. The infant's tendency to shrink in fear from the hand ready to strike him indicates, not alone an instinctive defence, but points to very complicated thought-processes. But the fear of punishment is not without the masochistic component of pleasure (*Wollustkomponent*). By repeating forbidden acts the child formally challenges punishment for the same. The pain caused him by the blow, which as a rule is scarcely more than a rather hard "love-pat," is frequently felt as but slight when measured against the pleasure derived from the excitation of the erogenous zones that are concerned, the nates and the palms of the hands (*Gesäss und Handflächen*); the more so that, as a rule, it is only because of the severe expression of countenance and the accompanying cross words (scolding) of the person inflicting the punishment that the infant is able to discover that the treatment which he has received is meant as anything but a display of tenderness; and it is only the recognition of this fact that releases the crying and screaming.

VI. DREAMS (*DIE TRÄUME*)

Since speech, the most effective means of making oneself understood, is entirely lacking to the child in the first year of life, or else is employed merely in the form of a few sounds and words used for designating the persons and things in his immediate en-

vironment, it is impossible to gain any really deep knowledge of his mental life during sleep. We can only conclude from certain movements and sounds (*Lall-Lauten*), that even at this stage of development sleep does not pass dreamless. It would be justifiable to regard the movements as reflex and nothing else, if they did not carry in themselves quite often very clearly the character of something which is "willed." When a sleeping infant is seen to be making well-defined movements, as if for the purpose of grasping objects and feeling of them, and when these movements are accompanied by a smile or by loud laughter, by wrinkling of the forehead as if for crying, or by little sounds of anger—then it may surely be taken for granted that the child is dreaming. When a ten-months-old child who shows such a strong affection for the new nurse-maid that, from her advent on, he will let no one else attend to his bodily needs, and lets out his warning-call of "Ah-Ah!" every day before he wakes, and then is found in a soiled condition; it is permissible to see in this performance the same mechanism that determines the "dreams of convenience" of later childhood years. Such an older child dreams, for instance, that the necessary preparations for meeting his wants have been made; and by means of this self-delusion the Unconscious is made to win for the child an excuse for doing something that he is not allowed and would not allow himself to do when he is awake,¹ a deed which draws punishment in its wake. Just so, through dream-license, the infant deceives himself as to the order of his acts in point of time, so that he calls for help only when he has already relieved his needs. I cannot subscribe to the objection that the child, at this early age, has not the intelligence for drawing conclusions so complicated, and that he is waked out of sleep simply by the feeling of being wet and uncomfortable. When one considers how witty the most circumscribed, how imaginative the most matter-of-fact adult shows himself at times, in dreams, one is fully justified in claiming that thought-processes such as we have shown reason for accepting as belonging to the infant's waking-life, are not absent in the dream, just because it shows forbidden wishes as gratified. The wish-fulfilment to which the dream of the adult leads—indeed, even that of the older child—but only by way of long and winding paths, as permitted and mapped out by the censor, appears in an undisguised form in the case of the very little child. While having his after-

¹ Namely, to pass water, etc., as in bed-wetting. The whole sentence has been slightly amplified. [Trans.]

noon nap, an eleven-months-old boy who had received his first whip, made evident movements as if snapping it and tried with lips and tongue to imitate the clucking-sounds which he had heard from adults under similar conditions, by giving a low "Hit-hit." A little girl just under one year old, who on being taken to the country had spent much of her first day in splashing in a watering-trough, repeated those movements during her sleep on the night following, and laughed happily as she did so. Smacking the lips during sleep likewise indicates obviously agreeable dream-thoughts, and probably harks back to the pleasures of the sucking-habit. And since we know that whip-interests point to the presence of sadistic desires and that the great fondness of children for water points to a strongly developed urethral erotism, it is obvious that such dreams as those cited might, if carefully studied, prove a valuable contribution to the subject of dream-interpretation. It may be, for example, that muscle-erotism of high grade could be shown to be perhaps the most important basis for the "stair-case dreams" which appear as early as in the third quarter of the first year of life, as is to be inferred from the jerk-like start of the body and from the anxious expression of the face during sleep. Such a study would probably make it appear certain, also, that during the stage prior to speech, the latent dream-content is seldom without a sexual or erotic motive; and how, with the very little child, the dream-content is really not concealed, but comes to light without disguise, just as experienced and felt. The study of children's dreams would make clear why certain dream-experiences follow us through our entire life with such persistence (*Zähigkeit*); I refer to the dreams of vast surfaces of water, of plunging headlong down an endless flight of stairs, also to the exhibition-dreams in which the dreamer, lightly dressed or not at all, shows himself in a crowd of people, to his own painful embarrassment. These last-named dreams, indeed, reflect accurately the wishes of small children while asleep. For the close wrapping up to which the infant is subjected before the night begins,² is done for the³ very purpose of preventing exposure during sleep; it is directed especially to keeping the lower portions of the body covered, the head and face being sufficiently protected by the pillow.

(To be continued)

² And from which *confinement* he longs to free himself. [Trans.]

³ Here the original text seems to have a tinge of sarcasm as indicated by the words "keinen anderen Zweck"—"um so mehr"—"stets." [Trans.]

CRITICAL REVIEW

THE SIGNIFICANCE FOR PSYCHOTHERAPY OF CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL GRADIENTS AND THE DYNAMIC DIFFERENTIATION OF THE HEAD REGION

BY WILLIAM A. WHITE

"What is more real than a wish in the heart of man?"

In preparing my article, *Individuality and Introversion*,¹ in which I discuss the problem of individuality from the psychological point of view I was attracted to Professor Child's discussion of the problem of the physiological individual as set forth in a paper published in *Science*.² Since the appearance of this paper I have secured Professor Child's other works on this subject, namely his little work *Individuality in Organisms*³ and his larger work *Senescence and Rejuvenescence*.⁴ A careful going over of his work as set forth in these publications has convinced me that I needed to modify my views about the place of the psyche in development and also shown me wherein I have expressed myself in my writings in a way that was at least misleading. The modification of my views as heretofore expressed seems to me so important and fits in so admirably with much that has issued as a result of psychotherapeutic experience and seems also to have such a fundamental importance for that branch of therapy that I am prompted to set them forth here. First, of course, it is necessary to outline briefly Professor Child's views as developed in his works cited. I will take up, for the most part, only those matters which pertain to the subjects indicated in the title to this article, for he discusses, especially in *Senescence and Rejuvenescence*, many other issues of importance.

He sets out to discover what constitutes a living or organic individual—what is at the basis of its unity and the orderliness of its

¹ *THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, January, 1917.

² *The Basis of Physiological Individuality in Organisms*, *Science*, April 14, 1916.

³ Published in the University of Chicago Science Series.

⁴ Published by the University of Chicago Press.

behavior. The structure of an individual is purely a matter of anatomy, it is the orderly integration of the structural elements which remains to be accounted for. In other words it is not the static but the dynamic individual that needs defining. After a review of the several theories he discards them all, even the more recent physico-chemical theories which see in chemical transportation the fundamental element in physiological correlation. While chemical correlation is without doubt a factor it is only possible in an already existing individual in which some sort of order already exists. Any adequate theory of the individual must therefore be dynamic and deal with processes rather than with structures. Contrary to the assumption of biologists who believed that physiological individuality was inherent in protoplasm and dependent upon a self-determined organization he sees physiological individuality as a function of the relation between protoplasm and its environment.

The nature of the integrating factor of relationship he arrives at by assuming first a bit of undifferentiated protoplasm. Now let a difference at some point in the environment act as a stimulus at a given point at the surface of this protoplasm. The immediate result is an increase in activity at this point, which dynamic effect is not limited to the point of contact but tends to spread in ever widening waves of decreased energy much like the waves which result when a stone is thrown into a quiet pond.

As the wave of activity spreads it successively acts as stimulus so that the wave represents the spread of the increased activity originally set in operation by the stimulus from the environment. As it spreads, too, there is a constant decrement in its effectiveness, so that a dynamic gradient is established, the point of greatest intensity or highest rate of activity being the point of incidence of the original stimulus. A passing stimulus produces only a passing gradient, while a long continued, or often repeated, or very strong stimulus, or all combined, tends in proportion to these several qualities, to establish permanent changes in the protoplasm along the path of the increased activity. The dynamic gradient tends to become persistent and consists fundamentally in a change in reactivity, irritability of the protoplasm. Finally this dynamic, or irritability or metabolic gradient, as it really is because here tissue changes go on most rapidly, becomes the starting point of a permanent quantitative order in the protoplasm or a physiological axis of the simplest form of individual. This first order to arise is the chief, polar, or major axis, while similar orders developed later determine minor axes and on the basis of these is established the symmetry of the individual.

This matter of symmetry has been largely discussed in the past. Spencer in his *Principles of Biology*⁵ has devoted a great deal of space to it and concluded that it was a function of the relation of the animal or plant to its environment. For example, an animal moving through water will, by that very fact, expose its forward end to the operation of forces quite different from those to which the other end is exposed and so it tends to become different. Thus begins a polar differentiation which results, other things remaining equal, in radial symmetry. Now if one surface is always uppermost and the other lowermost a further differentiation will ensue resulting in a bilateral symmetry. This is precisely the state of affairs and the result which Child sees when he points out the results of a stimulus applied to an undifferentiated bit of protoplasm. There results what he calls a dynamic gradient which gradient if maintained ultimately becomes one of the axes of the individual, all of which are arranged in various degrees of subordination to the major axis. It is such an arrangement about a major axis which is the fundamental fact of the physiological individual, according to Child, a conclusion reminiscent of Spencer's, who considered the individual as "any center or axis that is independently carrying on that continuous adjustment of inner to outer relations which constitutes life."⁶

The methods of experimentation which Child used will be only briefly mentioned. They are significant for the purposes of this paper because they serve to write large the stated conclusions and to make their fundamental soundness more evident.

The experimental work was done for the most part with freshwater planarians, particularly the *Planaria dorotocephala*, *P. maculata*, and the *P. velata*. The experimental animals were subjected to immersion in solutions of various strengths of potassium cyanide. If the solution is strong enough to kill without acclimation but still not so strong but that the differences in susceptibility may appear clearly, it will be found that death begins at the head and proceeds posteriorly and that the lateral margins die before the median region, thus proceeding along the axial (metabolic) gradients; and as between different groups of worms disintegration begins earlier and proceeds more rapidly in the younger than in the older worms, that is, in the worms having the highest rate of metabolism. The susceptibility rate therefore varies directly as the metabolic rate.

⁵ Vol. II.

⁶ *Principles of Biology*, Vol. I.

If a concentration of cyanide is used which does not kill the animals directly but permits of a certain degree of acclimation it will be noted that the relation between the survival time and rate of metabolism is the opposite of that when the solution kills. Under these circumstances the younger animals, that is, those with the higher rate of metabolism, live the longer, while it is the older who die first. Here again degree of susceptibility corresponds to rate of metabolism.

Such is the nature of the experimental work which demonstrates the existence of a dynamic gradient and which thus refutes the hypothesis that the unity and the order in an organism is dependent upon the transportation of substances, in other words, consists in chemical correlations. Rather the correlation is dynamic and dominance is dependent upon transmitted change or excitation from the region of highest metabolic rate—the head region. The nature and the accumulation of substances in the different parts of the body are, therefore, not dependent upon their transportation, but upon their relative stability in relation to the metabolic rate of the particular part. In general only the most stable substances can accumulate in regions of high metabolic rate, while substances of less stability may exist where the rate is lower so that each level, so to speak, of the gradient comes to be characterized by certain substances, and qualitative differences in the different parts of the gradient arise, characterized by specific substances. As Child well says, chemical transportation cannot account for the origin of the individual, because some sort of an individual, as such, must exist, having some sort of orderly relation between its parts, before chemical correlation between those parts can take place. From this point of view, therefore, hormones which have sprung into such prominence in the last few years become of secondary importance relatively to the nervous system, which in its relation to other parts is "the final expression of relation which is the foundation and starting point of organic individuation."⁷

I have already pointed out how and why an animal tends to develop differences in the different parts of the body because of, and dependent upon, the different relation of these parts to the environment. How, for example, a uniform bit of protoplasm by the mere fact of its movement through water would develop a difference in the extremity which came first and most intensively in contact with the environment—the head end. To put it differently—a mass of

⁷ *Individuality in Organisms*, p. 48.

protoplasm without an axis becomes the recipient of a stimulus. The first result of such a stimulus⁸ would be an increase in the metabolic rate at the point stimulated and this change in rate would tend to radiate from that point like the waves on a pond from the point where a stone has been thrown in. Immediately the bit of protoplasm has an axis, the important characteristic of which is that the metabolic rate is highest at the point of the application of the stimulus and tends to decrease in direct proportion to the distance therefrom. The limit of effectiveness of the transmission varies in accordance with the strength of the stimulus and the nature of the transmitting material (protoplasm). The bearing of this matter of the effectiveness of transmission, or rather the distance of transmission, upon reproduction is very well shown in the case of the *Planaria dorotocephala*.⁹ This flatworm undergoes from time to time a species of agamic reproduction by fission. The rear end of the body (posterior zooid) fails to be controlled by the anterior end, attaches itself to the ground as the worm crawls forward, and holds fast while the forward end tries to go ahead. The substance between gets thinner and thinner and finally breaks. The posterior zooid, now separated from the control of the anterior end, proceeds to develop a head of its own and to become a complete worm.

To revert to the transmission of energy from the point of stimulation. If the same character of stimulus is repeatedly applied to the same portion of the animal; if, for example, the animal keeps thrusting the same part of its body forward into the environment, then the protoplasm along the lines of the transmission of energy from the stimulus will tend to organize into a chemico-physical equilibrium with the rate of energy change. In other words substances will tend to accumulate at the different levels of the gradient which are in dynamic equilibrium with the energy transmission at those levels—the gradient becomes organized.

Not only is the principle of the organization of the gradient visible in the processes briefly outlined in this illustration, but another principle of as great importance comes out with equal clearness, namely that structure is organized function, or, as Bergson would perhaps put it, structure is the organization of the past, or, organization is the structuralization of function or of the past. From this point of view the nervous system, as a structuralized dynamic gradient or as an organized system of relations between the parts of the organism, is given a new meaning.

⁸ Individuality in Organisms, p. 30 et seq.

⁹ Senescence and Rejuvenescence, Ch. VI.

Now of course, as Child has very well shown in the simpler organisms, an individual has many gradients. Among the simpler individuals these are expressed in the various axes of symmetry. Among the higher animals each organ would have a dominant gradient of its own and probably many subordinate ones, while the total interplay of forces in the individual can be visualized as playing along the axes of these multitudinous gradients, now reinforcing, now inhibiting, according as their energy rate is mutually assimilable or not, all of this great number of gradients held in an orderly organization because of mutual relations of dominance and dependence and all in the last analysis under the final domination of the gradient of highest metabolic rate, which in turn is dominated by its region of highest metabolic rate—the head end.

From this presentation it is easy to see how erroneous is the ordinary way of thinking of the dominance of the head end of the body. It is quite usual to conceive of the psyche, for example, as if it were a concrete entity which made its entrance upon the stage at some particular point in evolution—the only question is just when? Many people say that an animal cannot reason, has no soul (psyche), or even that children have no souls or are only little animals, while in the Orient, as is well known, woman is supposed to be without a soul. Aside from these rather crude ideas, however, there seems to be a wide feeling that evolution has taken place, so to speak, by a series of superpositions and that finally a head and then a psyche were added (evolved). From my presentation thus far it will be seen how far this is from the truth. There never was an organism, no matter how simple, how far down the line of evolution, but had a head end. The organism did not first develop as a group of organs and *then* develop a centralized control and coördination of those organs, but the development of the centralized control and coördination went along *with* the development of the organs. A moment's consideration will serve to convince one that this must have been so, inasmuch as the function of the various organs is in large part to serve the organism as a whole. No such service could be rendered without organization, and centralized authority is the basis of organization. The history of the head end, the head, the psyche, then reaches as far back as the history of life itself, in fact is co-terminous with that of life. All the forces which have been operating to produce the developed organism have also been operative in producing the developed head control.

The bearing of this formulation upon the whole problem of

psychotherapy is evident, particularly if considered from the point of view of organ inferiority as set forth by Adler. Adler traces the symptoms of the psychoneuroses to their foundation in an inferior organ. The inferior organ produces in the individual a feeling of insecurity and causes him to develop those dexterities, he calls them, which help to overcome that feeling. The individual, therefore, instead of being free to deal with reality, develops a fictitious goal, the goal of safety, and the symptoms of the neuroses may be described and understood as a flight to safety.

The dexterities which the neurotic develops to overcome his feeling of inferiority are essentially psychological in origin so that the organ inferiority is discounted, so to speak, by the compensatory overvaluation of its psychomotor superstructure.

Here then is the rational basis for psychotherapy from the Adlerian viewpoint. The compensatory mechanisms being essentially psychic, the therapeutic approach is naturally from this angle. It may be noted in passing, however, that Adler practically limits his psychotherapeutic attack to psychoneurotic types of illness.

From the point of view of dynamic gradients as developed by Child, however, the problem of psychotherapy assumes somewhat different aspects. Adler's psychology, based upon his study of inferior organs, fails just as does the psychology which I have criticized, in assuming, by implication, at least, that the psyche is something which has been superposed upon the body in the last stages of evolution. For example, he details the effects of an inferior organ *upon* the psyche, as if soma and psyche were two different things, as if they were not simply different aspects of the same biological unity—the individual—and had been from the beginning.

From Child's point of view the main dynamic gradient—the central nervous axis—is the structuralized evidence of the degree of correlation of the several organs and to the degree that the body is under the control of the head end of this gradient the organ is inferior rather because of failure to coördinate, that is, failure of the dynamic gradient to control, than because of any *inherent* defect in the organ as such. From this point of view the importance of the head end receives a new interpretation and a much deeper significance. Failure to keep in touch with the center of control leads to disintegration of the individual, either in the direction of reproduction, as already illustrated, or in the direction of some definitely pathological process, well illustrated by the phenomena of tumor formation. Then too, the possibilities of psychotherapy, it would



seem, are vastly greater, no longer limited to the restricted territory of the psychoneuroses, but presenting possibilities in the realm of the recognized organic conditions. This latter is quite in harmony with actual accomplishments of psychoanalysis and with the best thought which is developing in the field of internal medicine. For example, one hears on every hand of the influence of "nervousness" in all sorts of illnesses. Many diseases today are recognized by the respective specialists to depend, in no small measure, upon "nervous" causes, in which, a generation ago, no such etiology would have been thought of. It remains for psychoanalysis to work out the practical psychological mechanisms that are involved in these cases. No one who has had experience can doubt but that the possibilities for the future loom large.

In bringing this presentation to a close there is just one correlation to which I will call attention, because it seems to me to afford such an illuminating and helpful illustration of the nature of many at least of our psychoanalytic problems.

Child is not altogether willing to admit with Lillie, Loeb, Driesch, Schultz and others that development in animals is a reversible process. Inasmuch, however, as the complexities which have been built up by the process of differentiation may be disintegrated by the process that he calls dedifferentiation, he believes the process of development is regressive. Differentiation is progression, and dedifferentiation regression, but perhaps through stages very different from the stages of progression, therefore the term regressive is preferable to reversible.

Differentiation is the process of growth, specialization, morphogenesis and leads to senescence and death, while the process of dedifferentiation is accompanied by physiological rejuvenescence. In other words, the process of growth, differentiation, specialization, or better the accumulation of function as structure, the structuralization of function, is accompanied by a gradual slowing down of activity, of the metabolic rate. This is well shown in the planarian worms. Starvation brings about a dedifferentiation in old worms. Now when these worms are fed again they show by all tests that they have become younger. In the same way Child shows by many examples that organic reproduction is preceded by dedifferentiation. For example, the formation of so-called adventitious buds may take place in *Begonia* from the epithelial cells of the leaf. The epithelial cells are highly differentiated, but before the buds are formed they lose their differentiated characters and resume an embryonic condition—they dedifferentiate.

In analyzing the process of reconstitution in *Planaria dorotocephala* Child found that a whole series of animals could be experimentally produced from pieces which presented at one extreme a normal head and at the other extreme were headless. Experiment proved that the head-frequency was dependent upon different degrees of retardation or inhibition of the metabolic rate. By immersing the pieces in weak solutions of cyanides and narcotics the head-frequency could be accurately reduced in proportion to the strength of the solution. It was proven, too, that a head developed at the end of the piece which in the original worm was nearest the head (apical) and that the amount of dedifferentiation was greater for the production of a head than when a head was not produced. Many other equally interesting points were brought out. Such experiments confirmed by many others show again that the head end is the place of highest rate of metabolic change and therefore is not only the controlling factor in the organization, but the most modifiable, a conclusion which seems to be of the greatest significance for psychotherapy.

Of special interest for psychotherapy, aside from the proof of the supreme importance of the head end, is the phenomenon of dedifferentiation. This phenomenon is what we are actually dealing with all the time in our efforts to reconstruct our patients. The energy bound up in bad habits of thinking and feeling cannot be used for constructive ends until those habits are first destroyed, thus releasing the energy so that it can be used for a new structure. This is precisely the phenomenon of dedifferentiation. We cannot build a new house from the bricks of an old one without first tearing down the old structure so as to render the bricks available.

And finally, Child's work emphasizes in a way that seems to me most pertinent to present-day issues, the supremacy of the head end. This supremacy is naturally of the first importance to the fundamental issues of a scientifically grounded psychotherapy. This branch of therapeutics need no longer be arbitrarily limited to dealing with certain so-called functional disturbances of obvious psychological origin. It is apparent that no such limitation of its activities can any longer be demanded. The extent to which what are now believed to be organic conditions can be influenced through the psyche remains to be worked out in actual situations. Such work must no longer be prevented because of the prejudices of preconceived opinions without adequate facts to base them upon.

As I have already indicated, the extent to which the various

medical specialists are going in giving credence to "nervous" causes as of importance in their several domains is encouraging and would have been unbelievable a generation ago. Such causes are now well recognized in a large number of gastro-intestinal conditions and are being dimly perceived as of importance in certain cardiac and renal disorders. I have elsewhere indicated¹⁰ how the metabolism of organs might be disturbed by psychic causes and a number of authors have made similar observations in other fields. A clearer understanding of the possibilities will ensue when the physiology of the internal secretions and the vegetative nervous system shall have been better worked out, on the one hand, and, on the other, when there shall be a better understanding of the nature and meaning of the unconscious. With the knowledge from these two main sources it will be possible to work towards defining the extent to which the head control may be utilized and the degree of modifiability, dedifferentiation, which may safely be brought about, because as we ascend the scale of animal evolution the degree of dedifferentiation consistent with life becomes progressively less. I am convinced that the possibilities of psychotherapy are on the verge of a material enlargement. We are very close to a perception of the truth of the query with which I headed this paper—

"What is more real than a wish in the heart of man?"

The wish bids fair to become the unit of the new dynamic psychology, thus replacing the sensation, which has held sway too long as a unit.¹¹

The wish is the psychological aspect of the set of the whole integrated individual, it gives final expression to the trend, the tendency which seeks to express itself in action¹² along some certain line. When we come to realize the multitudinous components, physico-chemical, neuro-muscular, visceral, psychic, the integration of which the wish is the final expression, we will be in a position to glimpse the possibilities of a scientific psychotherapy, for we will then realize that what we call disease is not an evil which invades the body from without, but is itself, in what we call its organic manifestations, structuralized function. We will then realize that

¹⁰ White, W. A., *Mechanisms of Character Formation*. Published by Macmillan and Company.

¹¹ Holt, E. B., *The Freudian Wish*. Published by Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1915.

¹² White, W. A., *The Mechanism of Transference*, *THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, October, 1917.

the causes of diseases are, as often as not, within, and that destructive emotions, hate, anxiety, fear, may so persistently invade and dominate the organism that their reactions may come to be laid down in its structure.

It was De Bay who said that it was the plant that made cells and not the cells that made the plant.¹³ This expresses well the concept of Child. We are constructed of organs. Organs do not grow independently any more than plant cells and then become integrated into an organism. They rather represent the structuralized functions of the organism. In the same way why can we not have structuralized fear, structuralized hate, structuralized anxiety, structuralized greed, etc.

It is not my object in this paper to dwell upon the possibilities, but only to point out the very great importance for psychotherapy if this viewpoint in biology should prevail. The study of mental disorders would then easily become the most important branch of medicine.

¹³ Cited by Thompson, D. W., *Magnalia Naturæ*; or the Greater Problems of Biology, Science, October 6, 1911.

ABSTRACTS

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ABSTRACTED BY LEONARD BLUMGART, M.D.
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1. Contributions to Psychology of Love; Concerning a Special Type of Object Choice in Man. SIGM. FREUD.
2. The Theories of Organ Inferiority and of Bi-Sexuality in Their Relation to the Neuroses. GASTON ROSENSTEIN.
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6. Fantasy and Fable. HERBERT SILBERER.
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8. Report of the Second Private Psychoanalytical Conference in Nuremberg on March 30 and 31, 1910. OTTO RANK.
9. Concerning Criticism of Psychoanalysis. DR. C. G. JUNG.

1. *Contributions to Psychology of Love.*—In the past we have allowed poets to show us under what conditions humanity makes its love-choice, and how it coördinates its desires with reality. It is true poets have certain characteristics which fit them for this problem, preëminently, their fine sensibilities for the apperception of hidden motives. They also possess courage to let their unconscious speak, however the value of their product is diminished by the fact that poets are constrained to produce certain intellectually and esthetically pleasant emotions. They, therefore, cannot reproduce the material which they have obtained from reality without a change, but must isolate portions of it, remove certain disturbing factors and tone down the whole. These are the privileges of the so-called poetic license. As a result, it becomes necessary for science with very much rougher hands and at the sacrifice of much of the esthetic result to work with the same material. Thus, Freud justifies the strictly scientific attitude which he desires to introduce into a consideration of the love-life of human beings; for he says: "Science is the most complete deliverance from the pleasure principle of which our psychic work is capable." During the psychanalytic treatment of neurotics one often has an opportunity to gain an insight into their

love-life and one realizes that their behavior differs very slightly from those whom one considers normal and healthy, or even from the behavior of famous men. As a result of his impressions gained from a large number of cases, the latter tend to fall into definite types. His object here is to discuss one of these types for whom the conditions of falling in love is strange, in fact repellant, but which at the same time is capable of a very simple psychanalytic explanation.

I. The first of these conditions he characterizes as almost specific, for as soon as one finds this condition one can look for the other characteristics of this group. This condition could be called that of the "damaged third." Its content is that the man never chooses a woman as a love object, who is free—in other words, the girl or woman who is unappropriated—but only a woman upon whom some other man, as husband, fiancé, or friend, has a possessive right. This condition is in some cases so necessary that the same woman who was previously overlooked or even repulsed, while detached, immediately became the object of love when she fulfilled the above-named requirement.

II. The second condition is less constant but just as striking. An individual can only be included as one of this type if the two conditions are present. For at times the first condition occurs without the second. The second condition is that the virgin or woman who is free from suspicion never exerts the charm which makes of her a love object, but those women who are suspected and in whose fidelity and trustworthiness a doubt may enter can become objects of their love. This characteristic can vary in degree from the slightest suspicion attached to the flirtatious woman, to the publicly acknowledged polygamous life of the demi-monde. He calls this condition prostitute love. Just as the first condition gives an opportunity for satisfying the feelings of enmity against the man from whom this type desires to tear away the loved object, thus in the same way the second condition, that of the prostitution of the woman, gives an opportunity for feelings of jealousy, which seems to be a necessity for this type of man. It is only when their jealousy is aroused that their passion reaches its height and the woman becomes an object of value. This type never misses an occurrence which can inflame this feeling within them. One remarkable fact is that jealousy is never directed against the rightful possessor of the loved one but to the stranger with whom one can bring the loved one in suspicion. In marked cases of this type the man has no desire to possess the woman alone and slips quite comfortably into the "triangle." One of Freud's patients who had suffered terribly as a result of the faithlessness of his beloved did not resent her marriage, in fact he facilitated it by every means in his power and for many years he did not evince a trace of jealousy for her husband.

Freud next portrays the behavior of the man towards the object of his choice. In the love-life of the normal individual the value of a

woman is determined, in part, by her sexual integrity and is correspondingly diminished in proportion as she approaches the prostitute. It appears, therefore, a great deviation from the normal that the men of this group consider women of the latter character as most valuable. Their relations to these women are pursued with an expenditure of psychic energy which may reach a point ranging above all other interests; they are the only persons whom they can love; they demand that the woman be true to them and renew this demand no matter how often it is broken in reality. This phase of the relations has stamped upon it its compulsive character, which, of course, in every case of love reaches a certain degree. One cannot, however, expect, on a basis of the intensity and fidelity of such bonds, that only a single such affair takes place in the life of the individual. On the contrary, such affairs of passion with the same peculiarities recur in the life of individuals belonging to this type. In fact, depending upon the change in their environment, such affairs can be repeated indefinitely.

The most astonishing factor in men of this type is their desire to redeem the woman; the man is convinced that the loved one needs him; that without him she would lose every moral hold upon herself, and would sink to the lowest possible level. He redeems her always by not deserting her. In certain cases, the man justifies his motives and actions by the sexual infidelity or the social position of the loved object; but even where such conditions are not present, this tendency is also manifest. One man of this type who had seduced the object of his love in the most artful manner did not deprive himself of the pleasure of attempting her redemption after the liaison had commenced, by sending her tracts on virtue.

When one considers the various characteristics of the type here discussed; the necessity that the loved one should be bound to some one else and that she should have some of the characteristics of the prostitute; the high value they place on these; their need for jealousy; their faithfulness, which at the same time is not inconsistent with a number of such affairs; their tendency to redeem the loved object, one cannot see how all these can possibly be the result of one cause. But a psycho-analytic investigation into the history of such people shows that this peculiarity of their choice of a love object and their relations to it have the same psychic origin as the love-life of the normal individual. They arise from the infantile fixation on the tenderness of the mother and represent one of the possible results of such a fixation.

In the normal love-life we have but few traits which beyond doubt betray the maternal prototype of our object choice; for instance, the preference of younger men for older women which occurs when the libido has been separated from the mother too rapidly. In this type, however, the libido with the advent of puberty remains too long a time fixed on the mother, so that loved objects subsequently chosen retain

the characteristics of the mother and all loved objects are plainly seen to be substitutes for her. Freud here draws the comparison with the head of a child whose mother has had a long labor; the shape of the child's head for some time after birth retains the character of the maternal birth canal.

Freud then goes on to prove that the characteristic marks of this type: namely, the conditions under which love can take place and the relations between the lovers, are a derivation of the maternal constellation. This is easiest for the first condition—that of the lack of freedom of the woman, or the condition of the “damaged third.” It is plain that the child in growing up must realize that the mother belongs to the father, and that this condition of bondage becomes inseparable from the concept “mother.” The “damaged third” is always, therefore, the father. We likewise see that the hyper-valuation of the loved one, that she is the only one, the irreplaceable one, belongs to the infantile concept; for no one has this characteristic more than the mother, and one's relation to her rests on an unquestionable basis and on a condition which cannot be repeated.

If the objects of the love of this type of man are a substitute for the mother, the habit of turning from one woman to another which seems so to contradict his desire for fidelity becomes clear; for psychoanalysis has shown through other examples that the irreplaceable in the unconscious often manifests itself in the conscious as a succession of similar and unending actions, because every substitute does not achieve the desired satisfaction. In a similar way he explains the irrepressible questions of children at certain ages, on a basis that they cannot ask the *one* question which they *would most like* to ask. The loquacity of certain neurotic persons is also due to the fact that they have in their unconscious a secret which craves expression, but which, in spite of that desire, never comes into the light of day.

On the other hand, the second condition of their loving, that of the prostituted character of the chosen object, seems to be in direct opposition to the theory that it is derived from the mother complex. To the conscious thinking of an adult the mother appears as one of irreproachable purity, and nothing shocks us more than a doubt concerning this virtue of the mother. It is precisely this relationship of the extreme opposites, that of mother and prostitute, which stimulated Freud to investigate the evolution and the relation in the unconscious of these two complexes, especially as he believed that in the unconscious there often exists a single concept which in the conscious mind is split into two opposites. Such an investigation led him back to that period of a boy's youth when he first learns of the sexual relationship between adults, probably the pre-adolescent years. The boy is given brutal information concerning the secrets of the sexual life with its tendency to disgust him and at the same time to destroy the authority of the

adult. That which influences and moves the boy deeply is the application of these new found facts to his own parents, and often the boy responds with the following words: "It is possible that your parents and other people do such things, but it is simply impossible that mine should."

A frequent corollary of this information is the knowledge that there exist certain women who make of sexual intercourse a means of livelihood and, because of their depravity, are universally despised. He himself does not share this aversion. On the contrary, there arises in him for these unfortunate women a mixture of desire and horror, when he finds that we can be introduced to sexual experience through them, an experience which formerly was the exclusive right of grown-ups. The time then comes when he can no longer retain his doubt that his parents do not belong to the usual people who do these hateful things, and he says, therefore, with cynical correctness, that the difference between his mother and the prostitute is not so great, since basically they do the same thing. This illuminating information, Freud thinks, re-animates memories of his early infantile impressions and wishes and stirs up certain latent or dormant instincts within him to activity. He begins unconsciously to desire the mother in this new way and considers the father as his rival; he begins to hate him anew, and passes, as we say, under the domination of the *Œdipus complex*. He does not forget it but looks upon it as an infidelity that she does not give him the right of sexual intercourse, but concedes it to the father. These impulses, if they are not quickly put aside, can have no other outlet except in fantasy; these fantasies all have as their content the most manifold of sexual relations with the mother; and in these fantasies the tension often leads the boy to masturbatory acts. As the result of the constant interplay of the two driving motives, desire and revenge, the fantasies of the mother's infidelity are the most frequent; the lover with whom the mother is unfaithful almost always is stamped with the characteristics of the dreamer's ego—more properly speaking, of an idealized ego which has grown to the same level as the father. Freud thinks that this view of the development of some personalities makes clear that the contradictory and incomprehensible condition of the prostitute-like character necessary for their loved object is derived from the mother complex. This type of masculine love-life shows experiences in itself of this evolution, and is explicable only as a fixation of the adolescent fantasies of the boy, which later in life have found their satisfaction in reality.

These fantasies, in their attempt to realize themselves in active life, seem only to have a loose and superficial connection with the tendency to redeem the loved one. The loved one exposes herself to danger through her inclination to infidelity. It is therefore understandable that the lover attempts to shield her by guarding her virtue and counter-

acting her evil tendencies. But the study of their "cover-memories," fantasies, and night dreams, shows that we have here a beautiful bit of rationalization of an unconscious motive. In reality, the redemption motive has its own significance and is an independent derivative of the mother or better parent complex. When the child learns that it owes its life to its parents, that the mother has given him his life, there arise in him tendencies conjointly tender and grandiose which have as their object the establishment of his independence, and give rise to the wish to compensate the parents for this gift by giving them something of equal value. Very often this takes the form of a fantasy to save the father from some position of jeopardy, and Freud thinks that in this fantasy there is often substituted for the father the kaiser or king, and as such it enters into consciousness and is acted upon. The grandiose aspect of this tendency is manifested more often to the father, its tender aspect towards the mother. The mother has given the child life, and it is not an easy thing to return something of equal value for this priceless gift.

With very little change in the significance of an idea, which is very much easier in the unconscious, the rescue of the mother takes on the significance of giving her, or of conceiving a child with her—naturally a child similar to one's self. Freud then shows that this change in conception from the original idea of rescue is not too great and is not forced, by explaining it as follows: If the mother has given one's life to one, therefore what one gives her is another which shall have the greatest possible similarity to one's self. The son shows his gratitude by wishing to have a son through his mother who is like himself; in other words, in the rescue fantasy he identifies himself with the father. In this way all instincts, the tender, the grateful, the lustful, the insubordinate, at once achieve their realization through the satisfaction of one's wish to be his own father. Even the element of danger is reserved in this change, the act of birth being the danger from which one is rescued by the labor of the mother; for birth is the very first danger in life and it is the prototype of all subsequent events from which we feel fear. Experience of being born, Freud thinks, probably has left us with that affect which we call *fear*. He cites Macduff, who, according to a Scottish myth, was delivered by Caesarian section, and for that reason was fearless. Freud closes the article by asserting that his method of setting up types needs no justification, since he has picked out the extreme and sharply circumscribed types in order to found them. The greater majority of individuals show various fantasies of these types, some even in blurred form, and he thinks it is clear that only by first taking up the marked examples of a class can one get an understanding of the isolated fantasies in individuals.

2. *Theories of Organ Inferiority and of Bi-Sexuality in their Relation to the Neuroses.*—The manifold results of the psychoanalytic re-

searches of Freud and his pupils in the understanding of the normal and diseased psyche have been so important, especially for the therapy of the neuroses, that the general question of disposition to an abnormal psychic condition was left somewhere in the background. The blame for this is probably due to the hazy and confused concepts that have obtained concerning psychopathic degeneration and constitutional weaknesses of the nervous system which were used to explain all nervous and psychic diseases.

Freud's etiology of the neuroses, based upon the conflict between the sexual instincts and the repressing tendencies of the ego, marks a great advance. At the same time, a great reaction was produced against the former theories of hereditary influences which had a static influence on the therapy of these conditions. Since that time, however, there have been two attempts to get a better understanding of the organic causes of the neuroses, one by Adler and the other by Fliess. Both these approach the problem from different aspects; both desire different results but still travel in parallel lines. It is most interesting that the observations which have been made in these two investigations, first the universal bi-sexuality of everything organic, and secondly, organic inferiority as a foundation of a number of the manifestations of life, have that in common which allows them to be placed in a biologic whole. Fliess starts from the premise of the bi-sexual disposition of every human being. He shows that the changes in this primary disposition towards the one or the other sex, when not complete, give rise to variations in the degree of sexual development. This lack of development he calls degeneration. In fact, he sees in degeneration a derangement of the masculine and feminine qualities. Fliess ascribes to beings of this "middle kingdom" a number of diseases such as diabetes, hernia, gout, hemorrhoids, even tuberculosis of the lungs and appendicitis, which he registers as an empiric fact, but not as an etiological factor.

On the other hand, Adler has attempted to formulate human pathology. The same diseases which Fliess ascribes to the "middle kingdom" receive a new explanation on the basis of Adler's study of organ inferiority. The etiology here is a congenital inferiority of single or several organs which is hereditary and is the result of fetal lack of development. Furthermore, this lack of fetal development is the result of damage to the germ cell as the result of syphilis or of other toxic agents to the parents at the time of conception. The disease is the manifestation or can be called the result of the conflict between the inferior organ and its environment.

Rosenstein brings these two results to one conclusion. "If organic disease rests on the one hand upon hereditarily acquired organ inferiorities and on the other hand is the accompaniment of the marked evidences of a type of sexuality opposite to that possessed by the indi-

vidual, then the facts of organ inferiority and the degrees of sexual development must belong together." There are many factors which confirm this conclusion. In the first place, Adler ascribes the functional disturbances, such as the neuroses and psychoses, to the same predisposing cause. At the same time, Fliess explains the essence of neurotic fears by the appearance in the same individual of opposing sexual impulses. Fliess was also the first to call attention to the relation between left-handedness and artistic talent. Adler, on the other hand, from his standpoint says that talent is the result of a successful central compensation and oftentimes over-compensation which is the manifestation of a psychic superstructure on an originally inferior organ. It is just because the inferior organ retains its embryonal character that it and its corresponding nervous mechanism is able to acquire a post-fetal development.

As a result of these views many manifestations are made clear; as, for instance, the frequent combination of art and homo-sexuality. We also understand the so-called products of decadence as they appear in history. These are the times of strongly marked organ inferiority and, at the same time, a displacement in the relationship of the sexual substances. We begin to understand the appearances in these epochs of many neuroses and psychoses on the one hand, and appearances of a manifold artistic endowment on the other. We begin to understand the relationship of the above with the increased number of feminine men and masculine women, and their relationship to the artistic and positive character of the times. At the same time, we get an understanding of the sinfulness, the opposite of the neuroses, and of the increased number of organic diseases which goes hand in hand with all of this.

Rosenstein, in order to explain more clearly the relationship between Fliess and Adler, draws upon a work of Halban's, "The Development of Sexual Characteristics," *Archiv für Gynakologie*, 1903, Vol. 70. Halban develops the view that under the influence of the sexual glands, indifferent tissues are stimulated to develop into secondary sexual characteristics, while the whole foundation of the individual, including primary, secondary, and psychic sexual characteristics, is resident within the primary cell. A single sexual impulse whose origin is unknown causes the development of all the attributes that belong to each sex. Hermaphroditism, according to Halban, is a disturbance of the normal activity by virtue of which not a single, but a "double sexual impulse" determines the fetal and post-embryonal development. We see here that Fliess and Halban have arrived at the same point—one premising fundamental bi-sexuality, the other a "double sexual impulse."

The hermaphrodite, according to Halban, is a degeneration product. He develops the hypothesis which shall account for its creation to the

fact that a spermatozoa furnished with less than normal energy is unable to destroy the feminine tendency of the ovum, and in this way the masculine character is unable to develop more fully. The theory of organ inferiority allies itself to this when Adler says that the inferior organ in its morphology and function is stamped with an embryonal character. If we add to this the fact that Adler was able to show in most cases multiple organ inferiority, and that these were accompanied by an inferiority of the sexual apparatus, we are forced to the conclusion that the hermaphrodite of Halban, the intermediary person of Fliess, are those in whom the whole constitution did not in its embryonal development reach its normal end, and is, in consequence, inferior and laden with embryonal organs. For we must picture to ourselves that in the normal undamaged cell, which is a union of male and female cell, as the result of a cause totally unknown to us, it reaches to one sexual development at the expense of the other. When, as a result of the causes which Adler makes responsible for the inferiority, a fetal want of development results, the normal development becomes inhibited. The opposite sexual characteristics are not sufficiently repressed and the organs retain at the same time their embryonal character which stamps them with the mark of inferiority. The completion of their development can only take place after birth under favorable auspices by means of compensation. We can see, however, how far the agreement is in these three views; for instance, in hypospadias. This condition, according to Fliess, is a result of the change in the sexual substances of the individual; according to Halban, is the effect of both sexual impulses on the external genitals; while Adler includes it in the complex of the manifestations of organ inferiority.

In order to relate this to a biological viewpoint, Rosenstein refers to a work of Kiernan who, in speaking of contrary sexual receptives, shows that in the lower forms insufficiently developed individuals show regressions to the hermaphroditic type of animal life. That fruit which is the result of the fetal lack of development is unable to reach the highest point of mono-sexual development, and suffers at the same time the imprint of this lack on all its other organs. Adler has pointed out that the end result that is obtained cannot be considered degeneration but rather a regeneration. Nature makes such changes to the damages sustained by the organism in its lack of development, with its inherent greater tendency to growth and variability, that a better adaptation to its environment is obtained.

It is well known that in order to understand inversion the theories of bi-sexuality have been much employed. Halban from his standpoint says: "As a rule, the sexual psyche is laid down just as the other sexual characteristics are. In other words, an ovum becomes, as the result of some unknown impulse, either male or female. All its sexual organs in the widest meaning of the word and also its psychic disposition is

determined for it." But as disturbances of this normal impulse can take place, we can have as a result either hermaphrodite or else we have an individual with masculine or feminine organs and the psyche of the opposite sex. Rosenstein thinks that we have learned since that there is no sharp line of demarcation between the normal and the hermaphrodite, but that it is rather a matter of degree.

Psychoanalytic research, on the other hand, approaches the whole problem from another angle. As the result of its therapeutic endeavors, it lays a great deal more stress on the acquired characteristics. Freud postulates an indifferent sexual impulse which is not bound to the object as much as we commonly suppose it to be, so that the attempt to find its object begets for it many dangers through infantile experiences, fixations, etc.

But according to Adler, the child's feelings of inferiority, its consciousness of its own weakness as contrasted with that of the father; false evaluation as regards the differences between the sexes; and false sexual theories, all give the boys the feeling of femininity which becomes fixed for later life as a manifest homo-sexuality or, as the result of an incomplete repression, develops into a neuroses.

The psychoanalytic viewpoint considers the ontogenetic factors, but with reservations. Without the assumption of a constitutionally disposed attraction to the sex of the same kind, no explanation will hold water. Even although one does not know all of the differences in the psyche of the sexes, this much remains true, that the differences enforced by the object to be achieved and the differences in their rôle which must take place in the sexual act, bring about, of necessity, a difference in their psychic constitutions. We must presuppose that both forms of the psyche are present in the inversion, and the above-mentioned concept of Halban and the "intermediary region" of Fliess give support to this view. Even Sadger, who was the first to give proof of the possibility of the complete cure of inversion, admitted that even though psychoanalysis has done much to clear up the problem, a complete explanation is still not possible.

In speaking of a case of homo-sexuality, Sadger says: "The fixation of the masculine love was the result of a repression of the heterosexual component, just as, on the other hand, in every normally sexed person the homo-sexual element must be repressed. The final deciding factor, by virtue of which one or the other of these is repressed, resides in constitutionally organic factors and is a complete riddle to us."

In his attempt to show how the theories of Fliess and Adler give a biological foundation to Freud's theory of the neuroses, Rosenstein recapitulates their theories. He shows that, according to Freud, the libido is composed of many partial instincts all present in childhood; all these partial instincts become fused in the normally developing individual into normal sexuality; but where an individual has what Freud

calls the sexual constitution, individual components are congenitally strong; the child reveals a sexual precocity which allows a fixation of these perverse impulses. If the normal sexual libido as a result of psychic conflicts is inhibited, the repressed perverse instincts manifest themselves as symptoms; in other words, a neurosis is a negative of a perversion. Adler, in addition, has shown that the sex constitution, at least in the child, reveals manifold organ inferiority. The so-called erogenous zone of Freud and the sexual precocity are synonymous with Adler's organ inferiority which, striving after primary pleasure sensations, pursues its path with increased intensity. In this way, Rosenstein finds the neurotic disposition to be grounded in biology, and shows the necessity of bringing the concept of bi-sexuality into the same picture. He states his final conclusion when he says: "When two research tendencies independent of each other, starting from different viewpoints and seeking different aims, are such in their results that they meet in a third concept, such as the theory of the neuroses of Freud, they prove the truth that it is contained within themselves, and at the same time strengthen the theories which have resulted from the facts which Freud has observed.

3. *Concerning Urethral Eroticism.*—No single point in Freud's sexual theories arouses such bitter, almost personally touched antagonism as the fact that the anal region has an erogenous significance—this in spite of the fact that the slightest contemplation reveals that pederasty is as old as the human race and as well known, and was even recognized in Greece. The statement that children would not empty their bowels in order to retain the pleasurable sensations which accompanied their retention was laughed at. All of this becomes easily understood when one considers that this form of eroticism is most common in childhood and is often the strongest one, and may persist throughout life. Or, on the other hand, by a tremendous expenditure of energy, this tendency is repressed in the deepest layers of the soul. In his analyses and studies Sadger soon realized that in addition to anal-erotic there was, in many cases, an even stronger erotic which was related to the urinary apparatus and its products and manifested itself in the very earliest period of childhood. He gives it the name of urethral-erotic. Under this term he includes not only the urethra and the urine but the whole peripheral urinary apparatus from the bladder to the external urethral orifice.

From the time of puberty or shortly before it, this urethral-erotic may be the model on which all subsequent sexual life is formed. The relationship is close, even though both products have not the same psychic value. It is clear that the infantile erotic, not considering the thumb sucking, is bound mostly to the anal region and to the urinary apparatus. The regular discharge of these wastes is one of the most important duties required of the infant, and, for a relatively long time,

is the only duty demanded of him. Everything else is exacted in a playful fashion; but the regulation of his natural functions is the first duty which approaches him with the inevitability of life itself. Here we have the beginning of duty and the firm "thou must"! And nowhere does the child's resistance reach such productive degrees and nowhere is it persisted in to such an extent as in the negation of this natural duty.

As a rule, it is possible to train children in regard to these things by the end of the first year, generally by the end of the second. At first they begin to sleep quietly through the night without soiling themselves, and gradually they learn to control their bowels during the day-time. Normal children of good intelligence who persist in not acquiring these good habits until the third year or even later are usually found to be intense urethral-erotic individuals, in addition to being anal-erotic. It is only thus that we can understand how bright, intelligent children in spite of admonition, threats, rewards, and punishments, persist in such bad habits. The first thing noted in such children is the frequency of micturition, which not uncommonly is associated with a real polyuria, and soon symptoms are noticed which reveal the fact that the act and its products have for the child an intense pleasure. Parents of such children complain that the child needs continual service, always wants to sit on the pot, is always wet, etc. This increased desire to urinate, which sometimes is aggravated to an incontinence—frequently lasting late into life—or having a recrudescence after a period of quiescence, makes the education and up-bringing of these children a very difficult task. These children derive a particular pleasure from emptying their bladders. This is often revealed by the expression of their faces, their half simpleton, half vacant stare, and also by the habit of urinating on their own bodies, which later on is projected on those they love. That the act of urination is capable of an erogenous sensation is a fact of common observation experienced by all when for some extreme reason they are forced to retain the urine. The same is true of retained feces. In both instances we have a well-marked pleasure sensation which is independent of the relief afforded by the evacuation. For urethral-erotic children, however, the mere act of urination has a pleasure content, even when large quantities are not present. Such children very often evacuate only small quantities at a time. One of Sadger's patients remembers distinctly in his childhood that he never completed the act of emptying his bowels or bladder, thus being enabled to repeat the act frequently and so extract from it the greatest possible pleasure.

Finally, he mentions the fact that wetting one's own body with urine gives an extra pleasure which such children, in spite of threats and even severe corporal punishment, persist in for the longest time. As a result, this type will not go to the pot, and, in spite of filled bladders, often wet themselves, although they know that corporal punishment is the immediate result.

Another aspect of urethral-erotic is the abnormal early sensitiveness of the corpora-cavernoso-urethra which is the result of retained urine. This has, as its final consequence, the very opposite impulse of urination: namely, its retention. As a result of that it is a common observation for adult males to realize that urine which has been held of necessity stimulates sexual excitement and may give rise to erections such as take place in the early hours of the morning. Any one who wishes to make this observation can note that the same is frequently true of infants, and even of young boys. In both these latter erections take place as the result of the retention of urine. Sadger thinks that this physiological effect is consciously used by the child for its erogenous benefit. He thinks such urethral-erotic children elaborate the classical theory held by so many juveniles that impregnation is the result of the father's urinating into the mother, and upon this is built the "wish fantasy" to have a child in the same way. It has also been observed that children who have been trained have periodical lapses of bed wetting and even of wetting during the day. Sadger thinks that this is regularly the result of sexual excitement in the child.

In addition to the sexual overdetermination of urine as a manifestation of urethral-erotic he then describes the increased eroticity of the urethra. He states that hyperesthesia and anesthesia of the canal are the obverse and reverse of the same condition, and that the excessive or diminished sensitiveness of the urethral canal is nothing but the result of its erogenous character.

Sadger credits this to Alfred Adler who, he says, considers the anesthesia as the primary condition, the hyperesthesia as the secondary compensating one. The erotic of the distal urinary apparatus reveals itself further in sensations of tickling in the urethral canal which are localized at any point throughout its length, also in acute urethral pains having no anatomical basis; and finally through feelings similar to those experienced in evacuation, which may or may not be accompanied by secretion but are always the occasion of extreme pleasure sensations.

One of the little understood causes of masochism is the fact that children often provoke their elders to punish them corporally, so as to experience again the pleasurable sensations that corporal punishment produces, either in the anal region or urethral region. If in later years causes such as gonorrhea in the male or pregnancy in the female reanimate these sensations, they may persist in the form of hysterical symptoms. Finally, he classifies as pollution-like acts of children, who, as a result of being frightened by their parents or guardians, wet themselves.

Sadger then takes up the objections, especially those which seem to place the onus of the symptoms he discusses rather upon an early developed sexual apparatus than upon the urinary area. He admits a precocious sexual stimulation as an extension from the urinary tract; he admits also the truth of Freud's assertion that in the earliest period of

childhood the urinary tract is, so to speak, a model or precursor of the sexual one; and, finally, in the phenomenon he has just described as the pollution-like wetting or the tickling feelings in the urethra, it is possible to differentiate the sphere in which they should be accounted. Over and above all this, there are a number of reasons which justify the concept of the urethral-erotic; in the first place, the typical feelings of satisfaction which are part of the act of micturition. In addition to this, from the time of puberty there are undoubtedly a number of sexual phenomena which are, without doubt, a continuation of the urethral-erotic, in fact, they seem to carry it on.

Sadger maintains that the infantile urinary-erotic is the model for all the later developing sexual acts, the transition being all the more easily understood since it is merely transposed from one secretion to another. He likewise interpolates such pathological manifestations as delayed evacuation, increased frequency of pollutions of spermatorrhea, coitus-interruptus, the neuralgias of the genital organs, psychic impotence, and the nervous disturbances of the urinary tract, as a simple continuation of the childish urine-eroticism. He maintains that it has the same significance, almost the same forms, with the difference that the sexual secretions now take the place of the urinary ones. Where urinary incontinence was the case, we now have multiple pollutions, spermatorrhea, or ejaculatio præcox. The retentio urinæ now becomes a delayed evacuation; the habit of emptying the bladder in small doses now becomes a masturbatio interrupta or a congressus reservatus. Finally, he insists that all these conversions may take place but must not be allowed—the childish urinary eroticism may persist as such. The strength of the primary urethral-erotic in combination with its later psychic conversion he ascribes as a cause of the lack of success of so many therapeutic measures when directed against these conditions. As a further proof he mentions the fact that the Viennese neurologist, Maximilian Steiner, reports that the large majority of his sexual neurasthenics complain less of the disturbances in the sexual sphere than of ones in the urinary tract. Most of these cases follow a cured gonorrhea; but following it the neurasthenic complains of a vast array of troubles. Interesting, too, is the habit of man at the time his sexual functions come to a close. Those men with prostatic troubles repeat the same manifestations which characterized infants and small children. If they suffer with a retention of urine, it helps them to be put into a warm bath or to urinate in a bowl of water.

Sadger then takes up the question of the outcome of the infantile urethral-erotic. Outside of its conversion at the time of puberty into a normal sexual activity, a part of it remains as it is, or in a slightly modified form continues into adult life. The child, who, after retaining his urine, passes it from him in a long arc, continues that act as a child when he holds contests with other children as to the height and length of his urinary stream. The great desire that many have of urinating from a

great height, the pleasure others find in urinating in public rather than in private, have their origin partly in the instincts of exhibition. Finally, after mentioning other acts of a similar nature, he calls attention to the child's love of playing with fire; and in conjunction with this calls attention to the experience of children's nurses, proving that those children who, during the day, have played with fire or matches, wet their beds at night. Another modification of the urethral-erotic is the symbolization of the urine by water. He gives a number of instances of this, such as the love of certain children to play with water, to wash themselves and their clothes, and their doll clothes in it, etc. The sublimation of the urethral-erotic manifests itself in the various activities of man from sport to vocations. Such youngsters turn to water sports with passionate energy; they swim or row or sail. On the same basis, Sadger thinks they choose the calling of sailors. Others become interested in mills and turbines and water works, and, if individuals of increased ability, become marine engineers or constructors of large canals. He does not mean to imply that this is true of all those people who take part in these activities, but that it is true of those who, as we say, enter into it with heart and soul. Nor does Sadger wish to be understood as implying that every captain of a ship or that every engineer has become such as the result of his urethral-erotic, but he does maintain that a large number of these people, especially those who follow their calling with intense interest, have this constitutional disposition, and that throughout their lives it determines their interests. In art, too, Sadger maintains that this sublimated urinary-erotic manifests itself. This is especially true of fountains. He cites the well-known "Maeneken Pis" in Brussels, and the "Brunen-Buberl" of Munich; likewise, he mentions the "Tugenbrunnen" in Nuremburg, where water is being constantly emptied from the breasts of the women who make up this fountain.

Finally, he takes up the question of the controlling cause of the disposition in a marked case of urethral-erotic. He assigns the first place to heredity. In investigating the history of his cases, he found a number of the members of their families on both sides who complained of organic neurotic disorders of the urinary tract. In one of his cases the grandfather died of stone in the bladder; the father had prostatic enlargement; the mother had a chronic cystitis without any demonstrable lesions; and, finally, the son was a marked sufferer from a very strong urethral-eroticism from birth. In addition to this important constitutional factor, the education of these children plays a great part in the etiology of their troubles. Sadger warns parents to avoid unduly handling the genitals of their children. He is astonished at the almost unbelievable things that his patients reveal to him as having taken place in their childhood. In some cases the many necessary changes of clothing carried out by the mother or governess were so lovingly lingered over that the child was precociously stimulated. He warns also against prolonging the period in which the child is helped

to perform his various functions. He maintains that the child should be taught to do these alone as soon as possible.

Finally, he cites a number of interesting cases to prove his thesis. He closes his article with rather detailed reports of four cases. The first is that of a twenty-three-year-old man, homo-sexual, who had an active sexual desire exclusively for boys from twelve to fifteen years of age. He also had a bronchial asthma and a pyrexia, both of which were proven to be hysterical, and a very unusual urethral-erotic. He was the only child of an aristocratic family, and from birth was surrounded with the most intense parental love, which he continued to desire.

One of the most striking symptoms of this man was his desire to see boys of the type which attracted him urinate; at the same time, to see their penis. He noticed this for the first time when he was fourteen years of age. Throughout his entire life this patient derived a great deal of sexual pleasure from every action or manifestation in the urinary realm.

This case, viewed from Adler's concept of the organ inferiorities as the basis of neuroses, lends itself to the theory, in that, in the first place, the father's family showed many manifestations of genito-urinary disorders. The grandfather, in fact, died as a result of such a disease; the father had all the symptoms of prostatic enlargement. Further predisposing factors were the fact that the patient's parents were in the habit of performing all sorts of private acts, such as dressing, undressing, toilet activities, etc., in the presence of the child. This patient, early in life, began to symbolize his urethral-erotic and, at times, to sublimate it in passions. With two and a half years we note that his favorite game was to play with a sprinkling can. At three and a half years he was given his heart's desire, a pump that really pumped water, and the mother noted in her diary that her young son was so attached to this plaything that it was almost impossible to make him go to bed. This passion for pumps lasted for quite some time. Following it he had one for sprinkling carts. Beginning with adolescence all forms of water sports were adopted by him with the greatest of enthusiasm. These water sports were pursued in spite of the most strenuous opposition on the part of his parents, and in the face of the lack of money to engage in them properly. One of his symptoms was a dysuria-psychica. For many years it had been impossible for him to pass water if anybody were watching him. When this occurred, he had a feeling of disgrace in not being able to urinate. This symptom manifested itself in his fifteenth year, and began during the period when he loved a certain boy (the greatest love of his life). Further analysis revealed the fact that this symptom had its inception much earlier, in fact, at the age of seven.

After discussing in much detail a number of symptoms in the field of urethral-erotic manifested by this patient, Sadger draws this con-

clusion: "The primary factor in this case is the constitutionally strong erogenous character of the peripheral urinary tract and of the urine. This is shown in the pleasurable sensations at urination, in the inclination to early erections, even in infancy, and the tendency to the retention of urine. This type of child discovers early that by this mechanism they can derive pleasure, and from that time on, they practice it regularly. If, in addition to this, and in the case of boys, the parents are in the habit of helping the child to urinate by taking hold of the penis to bring it out, the child learns to demand this as an additional source of pleasure, and, at the same time, makes use of it to satisfy his exhibitionistic tendency. Following this, the other component, that of the tendency towards sexual curiosity, is stimulated and directs itself, in the first place, towards the parents and their urinary acts. The dysuria-psychica, which comes later, is a continuation of the urinary retention practised in the very first years of infancy, and similarly, too, it is based on the increased erogenous properties of the urinary apparatus. The looking and exhibition desire for urination both of one's own and that of the loved person is sacrificed in the cultural evolution of the individual. This repression, as the result of cultural forces, naturally is increased when the repressed tendencies are stimulated later in life by the presence of a loved object. On the basis of this we can understand that the inability to urinate in the presence of an object which is sexually attractive is the result of the stimulation of the patient by that object, with the result that the repression must be increased, and has an end result, the complete inability of the patient to urinate."

The second case which he discusses is that of a thirty-two-year-old compulsion-neurotic. This patient, in addition to typical compulsions, thoughts, and acts, showed a large number of urine-erotic symptoms. These he had had since his third year. The incontinence of urine, which was one of the first or chief symptoms, disappeared at the age of nine, as the result of his falling in love with a very neat and painfully clean teacher. As a result of this transference, he determined to overcome his bad habits and to be as clean and neat as the beloved teacher. In this case, as in the former, the constitutional and environmental factors were present. This patient married a girl, who, without doubt, was also the subject of a very severe urethral-erotic. Regularly with every pregnancy she had a so-called cystitis, with strangury, pain, and burning, which began immediately following the first cessation of the menses and disappeared immediately at the end of the pregnancy. As a child she wet her bed. They have two children who showed this form of eroticism, practically from birth.

(To be continued)

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